

Samantha Morton

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Truss banks on energy bill freeze in bid to unite party

Pippa Crerar
Jessica Elgot
Aubrey Allegretti

Liz Truss will finally unveil her long-awaited plans to tackle soaring energy bills today, with some Tory MPs conceding this is already a make-or-break moment for her entire premiership.

The new prime minister is expected to announce to MPs that bills will be frozen at about £2,500 a year until 2024 as part of a package of support costing up to £130bn, funded by the taxpayer, as she tries to address the most significant economic crisis in a generation.

Senior Tories predicted the bailout would generate enough goodwill to guarantee her survival in No 10 until at least Christmas, but warned she had a major challenge in keeping her deeply divided party in line beyond the new year.

With the pound falling to its lowest level against the dollar since 1985 and the country set to plunge into recession, charities and thinktanks warned that government plans to cap energy bills were "poorly targeted" and would fail to protect low-income

families without a package of additional support. The Institute for Fiscal Studies was among those saying ministers should adopt a scheme that did not benefit wealthier households.

Before her Commons statement, Truss said: "I know families and businesses across the country are worried about how they are going to make ends meet this autumn and winter.

"Putin's war in Ukraine and weaponisation of gas supply in Europe is causing global prices to rise - and this has only made clearer that we must boost our long-term energy security and supply. We will take action immediately to help people and businesses with bills but also take decisive action to tackle the root cause of these problems, so that we are not in this position again."

Earlier, at her first prime minister's questions against Keir Starmer, she ruled out extending the windfall tax on oil and gas producers to fund her support package, adding: "I believe it is the wrong thing to be putting companies off investing in the United Kingdom, just when we need to be growing the economy."

But, with Treasury forecasts estimating that higher



PHOTOGRAPH: STEPHANIE MEEK/GETTY

Well played Walsh breaks world record for women's transfer fee

Sport →

Hate tweets rise in cold snaps and heatwaves

Arthur Neslen

Hateful tweets increase dramatically as temperatures become more extreme, an analysis of 4bn geo-located tweets in the United States has found.

Scientists logged rises of up to 22% in racist, misogynist and homophobic tweets when temperatures rose above 42C (108F), and increases of up to 12% when they fell below -3C, according to a study published today by The Lancet Planetary Health.

Annika Stechemesser, its lead author and a

Trump's Mar-a-Lago 'a target for foreign spies'

Julian Borger
Washington

Mar-a-Lago - the Florida resort and residence where Donald Trump reportedly stored nuclear secrets among a trove of highly classified documents for 18 months since

leaving the White House - is a magnet for foreign spies, former intelligence officials have warned.

The Washington Post reported that a document describing an unspecified foreign government's defences, including its nuclear capabilities, was one of the many highly secret papers Trump took away from the

White House when he left office in January 2021.

There were also papers marked SAP (special access programme), which are often about active US intelligence operations and whose circulation is severely restricted even among administration officials with top security clearance.

Potentially most disturbing, there were papers stamped HCS (humint control system), involving human intelligence gathered from agents in enemy countries, whose lives would be in danger if their identities were compromised.

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News

Family of man killed by police call for homicide inquiry

Vikram Dodd
Police and crime correspondent

The family of a man shot dead by police have called for a homicide investigation as officials from the forces' watchdog continue to search for a gun at the scene.

The family of Chris Kaba, 24, vented their frustration and anger with the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC), which is investigating the shooting on Monday night in Streatham, south London, amid claims it is being mishandled.

Kaba was driving a car which was first rammed before being boxed in by police. He was killed by a single shot that entered through the windscreen.

A fingertip search is taking place two days on and is yet to unearth any sign he had a firearm when he was stopped by police.

The Guardian understands the Metropolitan police are monitoring community tensions in the area, and that IOPC investigators currently do not believe there is any indication of wrongdoing by police involved - who are being treated as witnesses.

Furthermore, the decision for armed officers to follow him was not part of a pre-planned operation and, just before 9.50pm on Monday evening, something about the dark-coloured Audi that he was in led



police officers first to follow him and then decide to force his car to stop.

In a statement, Kaba's family demanded that officers should be placed under criminal investigation by the IOPC.

They said: "The family of Chris Kaba seek a homicide investigation into his death from the outset.

"We have today told the IOPC of that demand and that we do not want any delay as has happened in other fatal shootings - otherwise we and the wider public can have no confidence that the police will be held to account.

"We also want the IOPC to tell us whether or not a weapon was

found in any search of the vehicle that Chris was driving. We have not received this information even though the shooting happened almost two days ago.

"We are devastated; we need answers and we need accountability. We are worried that if Chris had not been black, he would have been arrested on Monday evening and not had his life cut short."

For a police officer to open fire, they need a reasonable and honest belief that their own life or that of others is in danger. The force they use needs to be proportionate, and they do not need to be right about the threat they perceive.

Family and friends of Chris Kaba, who was shot dead in Streatham, south London, on Monday, paid tribute to a 'super kind' young man

The investigation by the IOPC is examining who the car belonged to and what officers knew about its ownership and possible occupant at the time.

Kaba's family, and the officers involved, face waiting for the results of the investigation and then an inquest into the death.

The shooting happened in an area of London where trust in the Met has plummeted, and there was anger and concern at the shooting yesterday, as well as sadness at Kaba's death.

Kim Alleyne, 49, whose daughter Karimah Waite was engaged to Kaba, said: "He was so loved. He was so funny. He was super kind. Crazy. He was always happy. He'd do anything for you.

"He was a fiance. He was due to get married in five months' time. He's got a baby on the way that he's never going to see. It's horrible and so shocking and so sad."

Jefferson Bosela, 27, who was Kaba's cousin, said: "He was a good person, a good, happy guy. He didn't deserve that. No-one deserves that.

"Nobody deserves to be shot by the police, whether they are a good person or a bad person."

Once the IOPC starts an independent investigation the force concerned is limited in what it can say.

The Met commander Alexis Boon expressed sympathy to Kaba's family for the "devastating and lasting impact this tragic incident will have on them".

He added: "I understand that this incident is extremely concerning and I would like to reassure the community that the Met is cooperating fully with the Independent Office for Police Conduct.

"I also recognise that the family and community want answers about what happened. I know the IOPC investigators are working hard to establish the facts but also need some time and space to be able to progress their inquiries."

Continued from page 1

Hateful tweets rise during cold snaps and heatwaves

scientist at the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research (PIK) said: "We found that both the absolute number and the share of hate tweets rise outside a climate comfort zone. People tend to show a more aggressive online behaviour when it's either too cold or too hot outside."

The research used machine-learning algorithms to identify around 75m English-phrased hate tweets - about 2% of the sample - in 773 US cities between 2014 and 2020.

These volumes of hate speech were then logged and statistically evaluated against variations in local temperatures by the PIK team.

They found that the lowest number of abusive messages occurred when temperatures were between 15C and 18C, but when thermometers fell below 12C or rose above 21C, hate

tweets began to rise - most dramatically at climatic extremes.

Incendiary tweets flared across all climate zones irrespective of factors such as income and political or religious outlook, the paper says.

Diego Naranjo, head of policy at the European Digital Rights network, said that the impact of the climate crisis on hate speech could be reduced by banning current models of corporate surveillance aimed at maximising attention, some of which have been accused of promoting hate content.

"The 'big tech' business model drives platforms to promote polarising content and as long as very large online platforms are incentivised to create viral content by spreading polarising posts, we risk more hate speech being propagated faster and putting our mental health at risk," he said.

In June, Facebook was criticised for its failures in picking up hate speech in certain other languages, after a researcher tested its systems by submitting hate-filled fake advertisements. Facebook approved them

for publication even though they called for the murder of people who belonged to different ethnic groups.

Surveys indicate that four in 10 Americans have experienced some form of online harassment, which can trigger problems ranging from anxiety and depression to self-harm.

"Being the target of online hate speech is a serious threat to people's

mental health," Stechemesser said. "The psychological literature tells us that online hate can aggravate mental health conditions, especially for young people and marginalised groups."

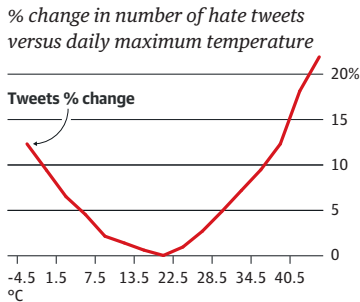
Almost three-quarters of women globally said they had been exposed to online violence in one UN study, while one in four black Americans have reported facing racial harassment online.

Twitter was chosen for the PIK research as it is used by one in five Americans and many of its tweets are geo-located. Maximum temperatures are also typically recorded between noon and late afternoon, a popular time for tweeting.

The study used a UN definition of hate speech as being "any kind of communication in speech, writing or behaviour, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of ... their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, colour, descent, gender or other identity factor".

The Guardian approached both Twitter and Meta for comment.

More hateful tweets are sent in the US during periods of extreme weather - both hot and cold



Source: Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research. Note: % change in tweets is relative to those sent during temperatures of 15-18°C

'The battle of Trevalga': residents vow to stop sale of idyllic estate for £15m

Jamie Grierson

Perched above the jagged cliffs of the north Cornwall coast, the manor of Trevalga is dramatic, isolated and beautiful. The site of six let farms and 17 further houses and cottages, it is a peaceful place, much loved by its current residents.

But their utopia is under threat as the trustees of the land have put the estate up for sale with a guide price of £15,750,000, sparking a dispute being dubbed the "Battle of Trevalga".

The 1,200-acre Trevalga estate was formerly owned by Gerald Curgenven, a former pupil of Marlborough College, who left the land in his will to the private school in 1959, with the instruction to "preserve it".

The will's trustees argue the will is protected by archaic legislation and they should be able to sell the land because the estate is no longer viable.

But residents, who fear eviction if the estate is sold, say the trust that protects their homes is charitable and therefore can continue indefinitely.

Serena Patrick, 38, who has been leading the campaign, told Mail Online: "It has not been developed, because of how Gerald Curgenven managed it in his lifetime.

"And after his death in 1959 it has been almost completely sheltered from the rise of modernism and development that has swept the entire country. It is a medieval parish that is largely unchanged - and a living piece of shared history.

"With no street lighting, you can

► Residents fear eviction from one of the final Cornish communities untouched by second homes if it is sold

PHOTOGRAPH: JAMES DADZITIS/SWNS



'This community is one of a kind and it does deserve some protection'

Scott Mann
North Cornwall MP

stand in almost complete silence. It is unique. What he tried to do was ensure homes for local people in a beautiful and historic area.

"So what is the point in writing a will if when you die you can just say my wishes don't matter? The trust created to preserve Trevalga has, in our view, now been twisted into a tool to exploit it for nothing more than monetary gain."

◀ **Serena Patrick**, who has been leading the campaign against the sale, says Trevalga is being exploited for monetary gain

PHOTOGRAPH: JAMES DADZITIS/SWNS

Kizzy Lockyear, 44, lives in Trevalga with her two sons and is a full-time carer. She said: "I came here when I was six months old and have lived here ever since. It is all I've ever known. It is just a different way of life, a real community where everyone knows each other. It would be massive upheaval to leave - and I am fearful that might happen."

She added: "The campaign is getting a lot of support but underlying all of that is the feeling you never know how it will turn out. Not knowing is causing a lot of fear and uncertainty."

The estate is being marketed by the estate agent Savills, which describes the plot as offering "varied income streams and redevelopment opportunities".

Savills adds that new owners may

want to pursue "redevelopment" and "further income generation".

Patrick and fellow residents have called on the Charity Commission to look into the matter.

Trustees have argued they can now sell the land because the trust is subject to a "royal lives clause" tied to George V, who died in 1936.

They suggest the life of the trust is tied to royal lives, and specifically to the death of George V's last living descendant.

The campaign to save the village and its surroundings has won the support of MP Scott Mann, who has appealed to the Charity Commission.

He told the Mail Online: "This is a one-of-a-kind community and it does deserve some protection. We have significant challenges with housing in Cornwall anyway with the buy-to-let market and Airbnbs and we're doing everything we can."

In a statement, the trustees told Mail Online: "The local MP Scott Mann has shown interest in Trevalga and facilitated a meeting between the trustees and representatives of the Charity Commission. Any further statement prior to that meeting would be inappropriate."

Say hello ... again: Teletubbies make a comeback for Netflix

Miranda Bryant

It has been a quarter of a century since the Teletubbies first arrived on the BBC with their baby-faced sun and chorus of "eh-oh!" - eliciting joy, rage and puzzlement in equal measure.

Now Tinky Winky, Dipsy, Laa-Laa and Po are staging a comeback - with a 2022 twist - in a Netflix reboot narrated by Tituss Burgess, the US actor and singer and star of the

Netflix comedy Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt.

The new Teletubbies, which has assumed vintage status in contemporary pop culture, will premiere on the streaming service on 14 November.

It is one of several rebooted children's shows from the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s aimed at the children of those who watched them originally - including DuckTales on Disney+ and Animaniacs on Hulu.

Teletubbies first arrived in 1997 and ran until 2001 before being

relaunched in 2014. The characters have also made appearances on This Morning and Britain's Got Talent, the latter reuniting them with Simon Cowell, who was behind their song Teletubbies Say "Eh-oh!". Remarkably, it reached No 1 in the charts.

In the US, where the Teletubbies were first shown on PBS in 1998, the show fell foul of the religious right when it was denounced by Jerry Falwell. The late televangelist claimed that Tinky Winky was gay and that the show was "damaging to the moral lives of children". But his criticism only raised the show's stature. His comments led Kenn Viselman, head of the show's production company, to say: "[Tinky Winky is] not gay. He's not straight. He's just a character in



▲ **Teletubbies** is one of several recent children's classics being rebooted

a children's series. I think that we should just let the Teletubbies go and play in Teletubbyland and not try to define them".

They have also made ripe material for Saturday Night Live sketches - most recently in an episode starring the actor and director Regina King as a stoned police officer who sees a grown-up Teletubbies sun.

The latest announcement is one of a new roster of programmes by Netflix targeted at preschool children. These include the US show Spirit Rangers, which had an all-Native writers' room and tells the story of three Chumash-Cowlitz siblings who help protect the land and spirits of the national park they live in, launching on 10 November.

Health secretary considers using care homes to free up NHS beds

Denis Campbell
Caroline Davies

The new health secretary, Thérèse Coffey, is considering handing hundreds of millions of pounds to care homes to help free up hospital beds, as part of her emergency plan to tackle the growing crisis in the NHS.

Coffey is examining proposals to pay care homes in England to look after patients who are medically fit to leave hospital but cannot be discharged because of a lack of social care.

Officials at the Department of Health and Social Care (DHSC) believe the scheme could tackle two major NHS problems at once, by freeing



▲ Thérèse Coffey would need the Treasury to agree to cover the costs

up some of the 13,000 hospital beds occupied by “delayed discharge” patients and improving handovers by ambulance crews to accident and emergency staff.

If approved, the plan would become a key element of the strategy ministers are expected to set out next week to address the numerous problems affecting the NHS, including long delays accessing A&E, GPs and cancer care, as well as hospital beds. In her inaugural speech as prime minister outside No 10 on Monday, Liz Truss identified the NHS as one of her “three early priorities”.

“I will make sure that people can get doctors’ appointments and the NHS services they need. We will put our health service on a firm footing,” Truss said, but gave no details.

However, whether the scheme becomes a reality depends on the Treasury agreeing to cover the costs, which DHSC sources put at “several hundred million pounds”. Neither the department nor NHS England have enough money in reserve to do so, it is understood.

It would effectively mean the government would once again pay for the NHS to operate a “discharge to assess” scheme, funding for which was ended in March despite NHS organisations warning it would make it harder for hospitals to free up beds. The DHSC began examining the pros and cons involved in reviving that initiative under Coffey’s immediate predecessor, Steve Barclay.

Coffey and NHS leaders are keen to do everything they can to reduce the pressure on the health service, especially acute hospitals, before what they fear could be a winter in which it actually falls over.

The minister is also studying plans for the NHS 111 helpline to boost the number of patients with minor ailments the advice service refers to a pharmacist, to reduce the strain on GP surgeries. NHS England would foot the estimated £100m bill for that initiative, which would be an expansion of the community pharmacy consultation service set up in 2019.

Coffey, whom Truss has also made deputy prime minister, is in addition expected to set out plans to stop senior doctors being hit with huge pension tax bills, which have prompted some to reduce their working hours or retire early. Truss has pledged to solve the problem so that doctors can work longer hours to help tackle an NHS care backlog of 6.7 million people.

“NHS leaders were disappointed when the previous ‘discharge to assess’ funding ended, despite their pleas,” said Rory Deighton, the lead for acute care at the NHS Confederation, which represents the healthcare system in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Hospital bosses would welcome a return to such a scheme, he added.

Deighton said: “During the first wave of coronavirus it freed up 30,000 hospital beds, led to a 28% drop in patients staying in hospital for more than three weeks, freed up more than 6,000 staff and led to £451m of efficiency savings.”

If the approach was revived, then funding would have to be long-term, rather than a one-off, “in order to help the NHS run smoothly and allow patients to recover in the most suitable places for them”, he added.



Fracking Truss urged to publish report into impact

Fiona Harvey
Environment correspondent

Liz Truss must publish a recently completed review of fracking in the UK, green campaigners say, amid speculation that the new prime minister plans a U-turn that would lift the moratorium on shale gas drilling.

The Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy has been sitting on a report delivered in early July by the British Geological Survey (BGS) into the possible effects of fracking in the UK, including the danger of earth tremors.

Truss spoke in favour of fracking during her campaign for the Tory leadership, and has also advocated expanding oil and gas production in the North Sea.

Jacob Rees-Mogg, the newly appointed business secretary, has also vowed to squeeze “every last cubic inch of gas” from the North Sea and supports fracking.

Green campaigners told the Guardian the BGS report – commissioned by Kwasi Kwarteng, now chancellor of the exchequer, while he was business secretary – had to be published, if the government was considering a return to fracking in the teeth of opposition from groups around the country.

Doug Parr, the policy director at Greenpeace UK, said: “This survey should be published so we can all see the evidence on which the government chooses to make its decisions. However, the report is about the risk of fracking causing earthquakes – that’s not the only thing that informs any decision.”

Fracking was first attempted in the UK more than a decade ago, but was plagued by a series of problems, including earth tremors at its site in Lancashire. No gas has ever been commercially produced from fracking in the UK, despite numerous attempts.



▲ Green campaigners fear the new PM will lift the fracking moratorium

University challenge Coffey left Oxford after failing exams

She is Liz Truss’s closest political ally and her loyalty saw her elevated to the position of deputy prime minister and health secretary. Yet some who recall Thérèse Coffey at Oxford University are surprised that “Tiz” has ascended to be the official No 2 in the government.

It has emerged that Coffey, who told the BBC yesterday that she had been appointed to the health portfolio because of her “grasp of detail”, had to leave Oxford’s Somerville College after failing examinations in chemistry.

Coffey was a student there from October 1989 to March 1991, following in the footsteps of Margaret Thatcher, who graduated from Somerville after studying chemistry – a parallel that has been approvingly highlighted more than once.

Yet unlike Thatcher, Coffey was “asked to withdraw on 9 March 1991 on academic grounds”, according to Somerville.

One Oxford contemporary said: “It’s no secret among those who knew her then that she had to leave, not for any misconduct, but because she was so involved in extracurricular activities.”

“She was really involved in rowing, and of course there was Conservative politics, but people are a bit nonplussed that this extremely pleasant person has ended up being the one who has succeeded in government rather than some of the really brilliant ones from that time.”

At no stage has Coffey described herself as a graduate

of Oxford University. Her profile on the government’s website has a single line under education: “Thérèse graduated from University College London (UCL) with a PhD in chemistry.” She also has a bachelor’s degree in chemistry from UCL.

But among profiles of the new health secretary this week, the Telegraph reported that she had graduated from Somerville, while a Times profile stated: “While Truss may claim to be the heir to Thatcher, it is Coffey who studied the same degree at the same Oxford college: chemistry at Somerville.”

In the past, organisations ranging from the Conservative Women’s Organisation to the National Farmers’ Union have made a point of saying Coffey was educated at Oxford.

Somerville College celebrated her appointment by posting a Facebook message that said: “Somerville College congratulates Thérèse Coffey (1989, chemistry) on her appointment as health and social care secretary.”

The post drew criticism from a number of people, including one who replied: “Did she finish her degree at Somerville? If not, why are you claiming her as one of your own?” Another stated: “As a frontline NHS clinician and Somerville alumnus, I have no faith in her ability to steer the NHS away from its current black hole of funding, staff retention or spiralling patient waits.”

Coffey was approached for comment. **Ben Quinn**



◀ **Continued from page 1**

PM to announce make-or-break freeze on fuel bills

prices could result in energy firms making £170bn in profits beyond previous forecasts in the next two years, Starmer repeatedly pushed Truss on how a price freeze would be financed – seen by Labour as a vulnerability for the government given worries about public debt.

He told her: “It won’t be cheap, and the real choice, the political choice, is who is going to pay? Is she really telling us that she’s going to leave these vast excess profits on the table and make working people foot the bill for decades to come? More borrowing than is needed – that’s the true cost of her choice to protect oil and gas profits, isn’t it?”

New polling by the campaign group 38 degrees showed three-quarters of Conservative voters would prefer a windfall tax over further public borrowing to fund the new package.

It found that just 13% of people backed funding the measures through new borrowing. Asked to separately rate the prospect of a windfall tax, 74% of Conservative voters supported it, rising to 84% among those who voted Tory in 2019.

Despite only being in office a matter of days, Truss has a huge task bringing back together her party after a bruising leadership contest, a brutal cabinet cull of all senior ministers who had backed her rival, Rishi Sunak, and the Conservatives lagging in the polls.

One former cabinet minister said the package would be big enough to generate enough goodwill from the party for the rest of the year, but they warned Truss would need to show enough grip and flexibility to get through an even tougher period in a likely recession next year.

Truss has consigned a number of big Conservative names to the backbenches and the ex-minister said they would be likely to start making critical interventions from that point. “Sajid [Javid], or Rishi, or Michael [Gove] – they won’t go quietly,” the minister predicted.

The new prime minister was met with muted cheers as she arrived in the chamber for PMQs and Tory backbenchers appeared underwhelmed by her appearance at the 1922 Committee, with several describing it as “fine”. While others were more effusive with praise about her directness in answering questions from colleagues, one noted: “No one’s going to take a shot at her yet. It’s not the PLP [parliamentary Labour party].”

According to those in the room, Truss promised her MPs she had

learned one of the major mistakes of Boris Johnson’s administration, and would listen more to concerns from backbenchers. “Expectations were relatively low but she managed to get the party behind her,” said one, of her performance hours before at PMQs. A cabinet minister also reflected: “That went as well as it could have done.”

Though Sunak’s supporters bit their tongue until the cabinet reshuffle was complete, a few started to express concerns when it was over. “She said this would be a cabinet of all the talents – and it’s clearly not,” said one. One sacked cabinet minister said they were shocked and disappointed at the “tribalistic” nature of their dismissal.

Yet Truss completed her reshuffle last night by holding out an olive branch to Sunak supporters in the junior ministerial ranks.

Robert Jenrick, a high-profile backer of the former chancellor for the Tory leadership, becomes a health minister, while Mark Spencer joins the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.

The hardline Brexiter Steve Baker has been made a minister in the Northern Ireland Office, where he will be responsible for reaching agreement with the EU on the thorny issue of post-Brexit trade.

Additional reporting
Phillip Inman and Denis Campbell

◀ *Liz Truss at her first ever session of prime minister’s questions in the Commons yesterday*

PHOTOGRAPH: JESSICA TAYLOR/AFP PHOTO/UK PARLIAMENT

Sketch **John Grace**



A refreshing change as questions are answered at PMQs – even if those answers are ridiculous

Imagine. A prime minister’s questions where the prime minister answers the questions. Where ideology and policy are debated in a relatively civilised way. Without sneering, bombast and diversion. And only the odd one-liner put down. It probably won’t last. But it was a refreshing change while it lasted.

Liz Truss arrived in good time and took her place between Penny Mordaunt and Thérèse Coffey. Other cabinet appointees, including Kwasi Kwarteng, James Cleverly and Suella Braverman, squeezed in as close as possible. To see and be seen.

The Tory backbenches – minus Rishi Sunak, Dominic Raab, Grant Shapps, Boris Johnson and other possible Truss refuseniks – were packed, though relatively quiet for a new leader. Hardly surprising. Most had thought other candidates would be better.

With the Tories already committed to Labour’s energy price cap, Keir Starmer focused on who was going to pay. Could Truss say categorically whether she was planning to impose a windfall tax? She was more than happy to rule one out entirely.

Starmer appeared taken aback. He was used to Johnson, who had never knowingly given a direct answer. Or engaged with policy. Truss really did seem to believe all that mad stuff she had been spouting at the leadership hustings. She was more rightwing than Thatcher. Even Maggie had imposed a windfall tax.

Just to make sure, the Labour leader repeated himself. So Librium Liz was more than happy to borrow billions of pounds more than strictly necessary and for the public to pick up the tab, rather than ask the energy companies for a penny more?

Truss kept going and going. Imposing higher taxes was a mortal sin. What people wanted was more of their money in their own pocket. Here logic failed her. She didn’t seem to realise that a windfall tax on energy companies would be allowing people to keep more of their own money in the long run. Details, details.

On and on. It had been proved that the trickle down economics of lower corporation tax boosted investment. Er, it hadn’t. George Osborne’s failed maths had long since been discredited.

“There’s nothing new about Labour putting up taxes,” Librium Liz declared. The Tory benches, which had been half-hearted in response to her wooden delivery, erupted. As if they had proof their new leader was capable of thinking on her feet.

They had never dared dream. She couldn’t just talk in complete sentences! She also had advanced AI! A sense of humour switch. Mind you, they said the same about Theresa May at her first PMQs after a Maggie impersonation. That hadn’t ended so well.

Starmer smiled. He hadn’t shone on his first outing against Truss: it was tougher than he thought being the leader with charisma. He would get better. Librium Liz probably wouldn’t. Besides, being on the side of taxing Shell and Amazon was a hill he could die on. After all, most of the country would join him on it.

The Speaker brought the session to a close. The Tories breathed a sigh of relief. Truss hadn’t been as awful as they had feared. But everyone gets a honeymoon pass for their first PMQs. Starmer walked over to exchange a few words. Next week might not be quite so friendly.

Truss really did seem to believe all that stuff she had been spouting at the hustings. She was more rightwing than Thatcher

▼ Liz Truss chairs her first cabinet meeting at No 10 yesterday - with no Rishi Sunak supporters in sight

PHOTOGRAPH: ANDREW PARSONS/NO 10/UNPIXS



Energy crisis Truss shows dexterity in face of reality

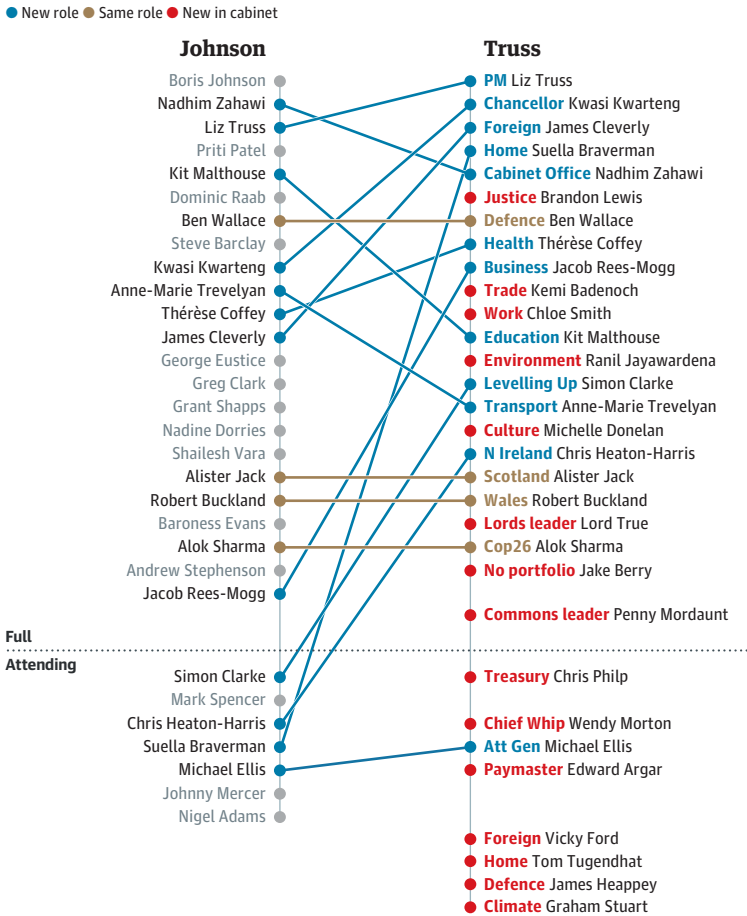
Pippa Crerar
Political editor

Liz Truss is not the first Conservative prime minister to see her carefully cultivated self-image quickly clash with political reality. Boris Johnson was the prime minister who compared himself to the reckless mayor in Jaws who kept the beaches open despite shark attacks - but then had to order the British population to lock themselves up at home during the Covid pandemic. David Cameron initially sought to compete with Labour by pledging increased spending on education and the NHS - but then oversaw brutal austerity cuts that pared public services to the bone. Today Liz Truss, who has spent the summer promulgating the economic benefits of the small state, will announce one of the biggest pieces of government

spending in generations, topped only by the Covid response of up to £400bn, in her first week in office. The new prime minister is regularly described as the most ideological in a generation, making no secret of her desire to emulate Margaret Thatcher through fiscal discipline, attacks on the unions, culture wars and outfits featuring fur hats and pussy-bow blouses. She rejected calls from all wings of her deeply divided party to appoint a unity cabinet, surrounding herself by loyalists such as Kwasi Kwarteng, Thérèse Coffey and James Cleverly, and bringing on board rightwingers including Suella Braverman and Jacob Rees-Mogg. While her team protest that she has handed out roles to some of her original leadership rivals, she conducted a brutal clearout of every senior Rishi Sunak backer. Just a peppering of minor roles were offered to his allies among the junior ranks. Her first international calls were to Ukraine's Volodymyr Zelenskyy,

who she reassured that Britain would remain a staunch ally and discussed the need to strengthen global security, and to US president Joe Biden, with the pair - although never likely to emulate Thatcher and Reagan's close relationship - reflecting on the special relationship and the shared values of freedom and democracy. And at her first prime minister's questions clash with Keir Starmer yesterday, the domestic political dividing lines were drawn as the Labour leader attacked her on "the Tory fantasy of trickle-down economics", establishing clear policy differences on a windfall tax on energy firms and cuts to corporation tax. Despite all of that, she will today announce a massive public spending package that would be applauded by statisticians and yet goes against all of the instincts of her neoliberal, free-market clique. What her announcement shows is that even the most ideologically rigid politicians have to be willing

Liz Truss's new cabinet - the winners and losers



Source: Institute for Government



Junior roles Baker and Jenrick make return to Tory frontbench

Peter Walker
Political correspondent

Robert Jenrick, who left government under a cloud after he intervened to grant planning permission to a Conservative donor, has made a return to the frontbench - as has Steve Baker, the Brexit hardliner and former leading backbench rebel.

It came as Liz Truss reached out to some Rishi Sunak supporters for a raft of junior ministerial positions, a day after she appointed a cabinet made up almost entirely of allies and backers in the leadership race.

Jenrick was announced as a minister of state in the Department of Health and Social care, while Baker takes on the same job in the Northern Ireland Office.

Baker's return to government could indicate that Truss plans to take a robust attitude to Brexit-related issues in Northern Ireland, given his headline views on the subject. The new Northern Ireland secretary, Chris Heaton-Harris, is also a vehement Brexiter.

Baker spent a year as a junior Brexit minister before resigning over Theresa May's planned departure deal, and played a leading role in the "spartans" who helped see her toppled. Under Johnson, Baker has

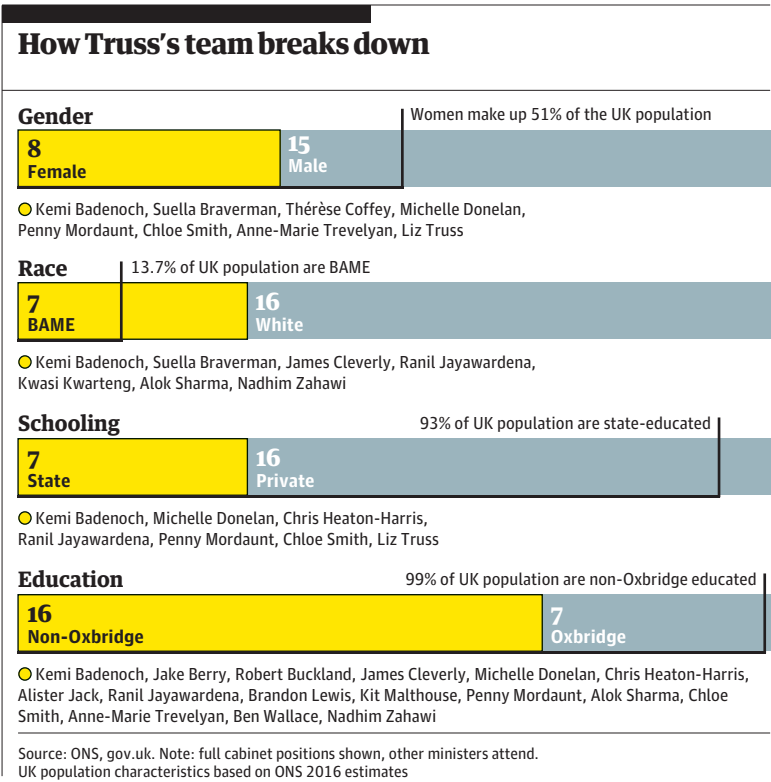
to defer to pragmatism when facing the harsh realities of government - in this case the cost of living crisis and the prospect of millions of families struggling to pay their bills this winter.

Truss will be aware that the energy emergency is the single biggest issue facing her government and if she gets the strategy wrong - when so many in her party are arguing for a different approach - her days in No 10 will almost certainly be numbered, either by another brutal putsch or at the next general election.

That she is willing to go from rejecting "handouts" to announcing a huge one of her own - believed to be costing about £130bn - hint at a political dexterity that not many, including in her own party, have credited her for.

But they should not be surprised as Truss, who U-turned during her leadership campaign over regional pay boards, has a history of taking firm policy positions and then backtracking, whether it was steel tariffs when trade secretary or campaigning for remain before becoming a fervent Brexiter.

Those who have worked with her insist that she has always focused on practical solutions to problems across the Whitehall departments she has led. Tensions between her ideological vision and the need to be flexible look set to continue.



been a regular dissenter over subjects including coronavirus restrictions and net zero goals.

Jenrick was removed as the communities and housing secretary in September 2021 as part of a reshuffle by Boris Johnson, in the wake of months of politically damaging reports about his role in a planning decision involving the media tycoon and Tory donor Richard Desmond.

It emerged that Jenrick had overruled the decisions of a local authority and the government Planning Inspectorate to give permission for Desmond's planned £1bn property development in the Isle of the Dogs, east London.



▲ Robert Jenrick was fired from Boris Johnson's cabinet last year

Bill of rights Manifesto policy in limbo as legislation halted to find 'new ways of delivery'

Jessica Elgot
Chief political correspondent

Liz Truss has pulled plans to enact a new bill of rights, in one of her first acts as prime minister, the Guardian understands, telling the cabinet her government would reassess ways to deliver its agenda.

The bill was the flagship policy of the outgoing justice secretary, Dominic Raab, who was dismissed by Truss on Tuesday after backing her rival, Rishi Sunak, in the Conservative leadership election.

The sudden disappearance of the bill will raise questions over how the government intends to proceed with its Rwanda deportation policy, which is in limbo after the European court of human rights (ECHR) issued last-minute injunctions to prevent asylum seekers being sent there.

The bill - which was in the Conservative manifesto - would have given legal supremacy to the UK supreme court and made it explicit that UK courts can disregard rulings from the ECHR. Critics had argued it would not materially affect the UK's

relationship to the European court and was unlikely to lead to a resolution to the current impasse.

Ministers are understood to be deeply concerned about the overall drafting of the bill, which was due to have its second reading on Monday.

There were also advanced plans for amendments to the bill by opposition MPs, including one on expanding abortion rights from the Labour MP Stella Creasy that would have necessitated a free vote on a conscience issue.

The legislation was introduced to parliament in June to replace the 1998 Human Rights Act, with a number of changes including an intent to entrench the primacy of British law over rulings from the ECHR.

It would also place new restrictions on how human rights can be used in claims against the government. Raab had pledged it would cement in law greater freedom of the press and freedom of expression.

A Whitehall source said the bill was now "unlikely to progress in its current form" and that there was a widespread review on the most "effective means to deliver objectives

through legislative agenda". Another said there were issues with the drafting, describing it as a "complete mess".

Robert Buckland, the Welsh secretary, who was Raab's predecessor at the Ministry of Justice, is among those who had misgivings about the bill. He told the Telegraph over the summer that proposals to "elevate certain parts of our existing statute law" to become rights risked politicising the courts.

Buckland expressed particular concern about Creasy's plan to create a right to abortion, rather than its current status as "decriminalised", and said it would risk importing US-style culture wars over the issue.

Buckland's decisions to switch his



▲ Dominic Raab drew up the bill now considered to be unworkable

Documents showed that Jenrick, who had sat next to Desmond at a party fundraising dinner shortly before his decision, had pushed for quick action over the project so the billionaire could avoid having to pay a £45m community levy to the local council, Tower Hamlets, London's poorest borough.

Twelve days after the decision was made, Desmond gave £12,000 to the Conservative party.

Jenrick rejected any wrongdoing before reversing his decision and handing over the final say to another minister, who eventually ruled that the project should not go ahead.

There have been suggestions that Jenrick could in effect be in charge of day-to-day running of the NHS given the health secretary, Thérèse Coffey, is also Truss's deputy prime minister. However, officials say his responsibilities will be standard for a minister of state, the second rank of ministerial seniority.

Jenrick was a vocal supporter of Sunak in the battle to succeed Johnson, and was among a series of fellow backers of the former chancellor to be made junior ministers yesterday, including Victoria Prentis, now a work and pensions minister.

Mark Spencer, another Sunak backer, is still in government but demoted from leader of the House of Commons to a junior environment, food and rural affairs role.

In a widespread shake-up of the ministerial roles seen under Johnson, Truss also brought back to government Jesse Norman, who quit as a Treasury minister last year, and later published one of the most damning letters of no-confidence.

Norman said Johnson had "presided over a culture of casual law-breaking at 10 Downing Street". He is now a Foreign Office minister.

support from Sunak to Truss - a key coup for her campaign - was in part based on discussions around reforming the bill.

It is unclear whether any version of the bill will progress and Truss could decide to find new routes to achieve the same objectives.

The prime minister's spokesman said: "A new secretary of state will consider all policies in their area, that will include ongoing bills proceeding through parliament. This is no different."

Ministers will need to devise a new legal route to force through the Rwanda policy - which Truss has said she is committed to keeping. Her new home secretary, Suella Braverman, a previous Tory leadership candidate, pledged during her campaign that she would take Britain out of the ECHR.

Rajiv Shah, a former member of Boris Johnson's policy unit who had worked on the bill, said there had been a number of significant problems with the legislation.

"There is nothing that we can do on the domestic level to change the fact that we are bound by Strasbourg. The proposed bill of rights cannot do that. The only way to do so is to leave the ECHR," he tweeted. "This bill would have been a political nightmare for the government. It would have over-promised and underdelivered, the parliamentary passage would have been hell, and it would lead to very few gains for the government."



PHOTOGRAPH: ANNA TURLEY MP

▲ The member for North East Somerset was lampooned for reclining at work

Jacob Rees-Mogg

From 'bonkers' young fogey to outrider for No 10

Rowena Mason
Emine Sinmaz

For all the furore over Jacob Rees-Mogg's "Sorry you were out" notes, used to shame civil servants who were working at home, he only printed and left three on unoccupied desks. "It was a PR stunt, pure and simple, and that's Jacob all over," said one Whitehall source with knowledge of the episode.

The then Cabinet Office minister's move did what it was designed to do: send a signal that Rees-Mogg - and by extension Boris Johnson - was on the anti-woke side of the culture war. He played the role of Johnson's rightwing outrider for three years, saying the things the prime minister could not get away with, such as dismissing Partygate as "fluff". And now he is poised to take on the same role for Liz Truss, for whom he hit the media to describe her comments suggesting that British workers need more graft as "sensible".

For his loyalty, Rees-Mogg has been rewarded with a plum cabinet job as the business secretary, and once again appears to have picked a winner during a Tory leadership campaign. But for Truss, keeping Rees-Mogg close is a gamble, given his polarising views. He is unashamedly pro-fracking, in favour of extracting every last drop of oil out of the North Sea, and has decried "climate alarmism". She has already had to appoint another minister to sit in cabinet to look after the climate brief after an outcry from pro-green Tories.

The new business secretary, who is strongly pro-deregulation, may also face questions over his continuing financial interests: he retained a substantial stake in the hedge fund he co-founded, Somerset Capital Management, while in Johnson's cabinet.

The new prime minister has shown her faith in Rees-Mogg by promoting him, but political sources say Johnson came close to sacking his ally on more than one occasion, most seriously when he suggested Grenfell fire victims should have had the "common sense" to escape. But Rees-Mogg, who had hosted campaign dinners for Johnson at his £5m Westminster townhouse, always found his way back into favour.

"We all thought Jacob was bonkers and none of us thought he was a good spokesman for the government at that point," said one former Downing Street aide, recalling the middle of the 2019 election campaign. "He always just managed to say something bone-headed. He was told by No 10 to apologise or face the sack. And he was put in the freezer by Boris for goodness knows how long. But somehow he bounced back."

His ability to shrug off criticism coupled with his lifelong hunger for the limelight is, they say, Johnsonesque. "Even more than Boris, he's always been a proto-celebrity," said another person who has worked closely with him, pointing to his TV appearances as a "young fogey" on *Have I Got News for You* and an encounter with Ali G. "He's always everywhere, doing anything to get noticed."

A regular figure in the diary columns before he entered political



life, Rees-Mogg even appeared in a piece in the *Daily Mail* in 2007 talking about how his first child was conceived on the fifth day of his honeymoon in Seychelles and was due on his heroine Lady Thatcher's birthday. But he has always seen himself as much more than a caricature. He is not short of confidence - or ambition.

Born Jacob William Rees-Mogg in Hammersmith in 1969, he is one of the richest ministers in the cabinet, with Spear's Wealth Management estimating in 2019 that his net

worth was "well over £100m", including the expected inheritance of his wife, Lady Helena de Chair.

His own background was wealthy but not blue-blooded, though his father, William Rees-Mogg, moved in privileged circles through his job as the editor of the *Times*. His mother, born Gillian Morris, had been his father's secretary and now lives close to Gournay Court, a Grade II* listed Somerset mansion belonging to the Rees-Moggs and their six children.

Rees-Mogg famously claims not to change nappies, instead relying on the services of his own former nanny, Veronica Crook, who went on to look after his own children and has worked for the family for more than five decades. One contemporary at Westminster Under school, Julien Garran, said the signs of ambition were always there. "He was pretty pushy even back then," he said. "I think he'd been given some shares and I remember one time there was an article about him written up that he'd harangued the CEO for not doing his job properly. At this point he was aged 11."

None of his siblings appeared to show a similar love of Victorian traditionalism, although his sister, Annunziata Rees-Mogg, also

had political leanings, running unsuccessfully as a Tory candidate and later becoming a Brexit party MEP. According to Rees-Mogg's biography, by the Conservative peer Lord Ashcroft, his father once remarked to his teacher: "We don't know where he has come from."

After prep school, Rees-Mogg went to Eton, five school years below Boris Johnson and two below David Cameron. From there he went to Trinity College, Oxford, where one of his best friends was the former Tory MP Louise Mensch, with whom he remains in touch. Those who know him from the time recall a nerdy but self-publicising young man, who was addicted to Cadbury's Creme Eggs and Eurosceptic student politics.

Rees-Mogg did not, Mensch said, propose to her and their relationship was always platonic, contrary to rumour, but she did base the "alt romantic hero" in her novel *Venus Envy* on him. "He is a sort of almost romance for our heroine, then she falls in love with somebody else and so does he," she said, adding: "We were just very, very, very close." Mensch said that one of his qualities was being "just completely uninterested in pandering to what anybody else thought" and that his love of



▲ Rees-Mogg was the Conservative candidate for Central Fife in 1997



◀ *The new secretary of state for business, energy and industrial strategy arrives at No 10 yesterday*
PHOTOGRAPH: WIKTOR SZYMANOWICZ/GETTY

His property portfolio now ranges from Gournay Court to his Westminster townhouse, and his register of interests lists two flats in Pall Mall owned by his company, Saliston. His company also owns a further two properties, a former schoolhouse near Gournay Court and a bungalow in Midsomer Norton. He does declare a farmhouse in Somerset from which rent is received.

Neighbours of a farmhouse property and surrounding fields in Midsomer Norton, in his constituency, believe Rees-Mogg is the beneficiary of a trust that holds the land, although he has declined to answer questions about his ownership.

With so much property wealth, Rees-Mogg has clearly made money in his own right. But he was always intent on entering politics, trying unsuccessfully in Central Fife in 1997 and the Wrekin in 2001.

When he first came to parliament in 2010, Rees-Mogg was viewed as something of a joke figure, best known for his previous campaigning as a 27-year-old hedge fund manager in Central Fife with the help of his family nanny and his father's Mercedes. His rival Labour candidate, the former first minister of Scotland Henry McLeish, said he had to step in to stop the young Tory from being beaten up during that first foray into politics.

"I was just kind of his protector in a way because he was totally out of his constitutional, and I suppose class, depth because I'm sure he had never encountered people like my supporters in his life," said McLeish. "I have no idea how such a person could have gained the kind of stature he's got in terms of a cabinet position in the government."

Cameron's modernising Conservative party did not put him on the A-list. Once in parliament, Rees-Mogg was seen by those at the top almost as a harmless idiot. He made a number of early missteps, including attending a dinner of the Traditional Britain Group, which he later had to distance himself from when its rightwing supporters later backed "repatriation" of black people to Africa.

There were also some long-forgotten scandals in his 2010 election campaign, in which he was caught plagiarising a Trevor Kavanagh column from the Sun, and trying to pass off one of his own staff members as a voter on his election leaflet.

Could Rees-Mogg ever stand to be leader himself? Colleagues say his devout Catholic views, as well as his rightwing ones, would be a problem - anti-abortion even in cases of rape or incest, his description of morning-after pills as "abortifacients" and his observation that he "took the whip" from Rome in relation to his vote against gay marriage.

But then many thought that this and his extensive business interests would have been a barrier to him becoming a minister.

Analysis Fiona Harvey



With climate sceptics and clean energy converts, new cabinet is mixed bag on the environment

As the makeup of Truss's government comes into focus, we look at the people in key roles, their records - and how likely they are to take the urgent action needed on green issues

Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy

Squeezing "every last cubic inch of gas" from the North Sea is top of the agenda for Jacob Rees-Mogg, the new business secretary, despite clear advice that increasing gas production will do nothing to ease prices for consumers. Equally concerning for green advocates, Rees-Mogg has long voiced climate scepticism and spoken against the net zero target.

But Truss's appointment of Graham Stuart as Rees-Mogg's junior minister for climate change struck a different note. Stuart was one of the leading voices urging Theresa May to enshrine net zero into law, and has long been involved in the Globe group of legislators from around the world who push for laws mandating climate action to be passed by national parliaments.

"His appointment is very positive, as is the fact that he will attend cabinet," said one green Tory adviser. "That's moving in the right direction."

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

"Another fucking Defra secretary who hasn't got a pair of wellies," was the gruff response of one farmer, who sits on a regional board of Natural England, to the appointment of Ranil Jayawardena to the role of secretary of state for environment, food and rural affairs.

He has a sparse record on green issues, though he was president of the all-party parliamentary group on endangered species. Farmers are more alarmed by his background as a trade minister, cutting deals with overseas governments that campaigners said sidelined animal welfare and food quality concerns in favour of cheaper imports.

Jayawardena will also have to tackle the pressing issue of sewage in our rivers which has enraged the public, and the less visible issue of air quality. Under the Environment Act, key decisions on new post-Brexit regulations for air quality standards must be made this autumn.

Treasury

The Treasury under Rishi Sunak acquired a strong reputation for blocking any green initiatives that required public spending. Interestingly, the proposer of many

of those initiatives was Kwasi Kwarteng, the former business secretary, now installed in No 11 Downing Street as chancellor of the exchequer.

When he entered the business department in 2019, Kwarteng was known as a free-marketer, but colleagues say he underwent a conversion at BEIS, growing convinced of the need for intervention and the potential for clean energy. He was seen as "extremely supportive" of renewables, says one renewable industry insider, so his appointment is viewed with relief by investors, as Truss spoke out against solar farms and has vowed to keep regulatory barriers to onshore wind.

He may also be willing to set up an insulation programme because, points out Sam Hall of the Conservative Environment Network, under Truss's plans for an energy bill cap, the Treasury is "on the hook" for the rising cost of energy. The more energy that can be saved by consumers, the lower the cost to the public purse of the price cap policy, giving it for the first time an incentive to invest in demand reduction.

International policy

Alok Sharma, the cabinet minister who chaired Cop26, retains that role at a vital time. The UK presidency ends in November when Egypt takes over as president of the UN talks, and Sharma will spend those weeks in close negotiations with leading countries, trying to hold together the fragile coalition that reached agreement at Cop26.

No 10

The peopling of Downing Street with advisers from "Tufton Street" - a collective name for rightwing, free-market, low-tax thinktanks, including figures from the Taxpayers' Alliance and the Institute for Economic Affairs - means that any minister with a bent for interventionist policies will have a struggle, says Tom Burke, co-founder of the E3G thinktank and a veteran adviser to governments.

Boris Johnson was seen by green Tories as their champion while in government, which led to at least strong rhetoric on net zero if not always action. Truss has shown she will take a strikingly different view.

▶ *The then Ukip leader, Nigel Farage, with Rees-Mogg at an event held by the Eurosceptic Bruges Group in 2016*

PHOTOGRAPH: DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES



tradition and the establishment was far from an act.

"The anecdotes that come up about Jacob, that he likes to listen to the shipping forecast and stuff like that, that he would stand up whenever anybody played God Save the Queen, people think those

things are affected or done for show in politics, though I can assure your readers that they are not," she said. "He has been doing those all his entire life, literally for ever."

But others who have worked with him are not so sure. "Is it a put-on job, or has the mask eaten into the face? It's not clear," said a person who worked closely with him for years in politics.

In business, Rees-Mogg worked in Hong Kong and Mayfair for hedge funds before setting up on his own. His ventures were a success, including Somerset Capital Management, which he established with the financier Dominic Johnson and still has an interest in, receiving dividends.

'I have no idea how such a person could have gained the kind of stature he's got'

Henry McLeish
Rival candidate in Fife

Northern Ireland Ahern and Blair trying to break impasse

Lisa O'Carroll

Brexit correspondent

Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern, the architects of the landmark peace deal in Northern Ireland, have been working behind the scenes to try to get the UK and the EU back to the negotiating

table over Brexit and the collapse of the Stormont government, it has been revealed.

The news came as the hard-Brexit Steve Baker was appointed a minister in the Northern Ireland Office, replacing Conor Burns, who has been moved to a role in the Department for International Trade.

Earlier yesterday, Burns thanked Blair and Ahern for their support in the House of Commons. He revealed he had spent the summer north and south of the border in dozens of meetings with parties and civic representatives to try to break the double impasse over the Northern Ireland protocol and power-sharing, which the Democratic Unionist party has been boycotting since May.

"I want to place on record, Mr Speaker, in the house today, my thanks to the former taoiseach Bertie Ahern and the former prime minister

Tony Blair for their assistance in the work that I have done over the summer," he said.

Ahern met Burns in Dublin recently and was due to meet the European Commission vice-president, Maroš Šefčovič, last night on the sidelines of a roundtable discussion about Northern Ireland involving MEPs and representatives from all parties including Sinn Féin and the DUP.

Talks between the UK and the EU over the Northern Ireland protocol have been paused since February when Russia invaded Ukraine, with

the already strained relations deteriorating further in June when then foreign secretary Liz Truss introduced a bill to enable the UK to unilaterally remove some of the Brexit arrangements.

Despite the risk of a retaliatory trade war if the bill becomes law, Burns believes there is room for a deal. Earlier this week, he advised Truss that there is an appetite to return to talks. Hopes of a thaw in UK-EU relations have also been fuelled by the absence of Lord Frost from Truss's new cabinet.

No 10 New chief of staff hires former lobbying firm colleagues

Rowena Mason

Deputy political editor

Mark Fullbrook, Liz Truss's new chief of staff, has asserted his grip over Downing Street by bringing senior figures from his lobbying firm into No 10.

The political consultant, a former long-time colleague of the election strategist Lynton Crosby, was appointed to the most senior role in the prime minister's team this week after previously working on the failed leadership campaign of Nadhim Zahawi.

Senior advisory roles in No 10 have now also gone to James "Mac" Chapwell, and Alice Robinson, both founding members of his lobbying firm, Fullbrook Strategies.

The company, which launched in the spring, has lobbied the UK government on behalf of clients including the controversial Libyan parliament and a firm that previously won the biggest PPE deal of the pandemic, worth £680m.

Two more senior No 10 staff, Beatrice Timpson, the deputy press

secretary, and Reuben Solomon, a digital adviser, have also done stints at CT Group, Crosby's political consultancy, where Fullbrook worked for over a decade.

Alongside Fullbrook and his aides, Truss's inner circle comprises a slew of people who have worked for right-wing thinktanks. Sophie Jarvis, a political adviser, is a former staff member of the Adam Smith Institute, a thinktank working to promote neo-liberal and free market ideas, while her economics chief is Matthew Sinclair, a former chief executive of the TaxPayers' Alliance, a pressure group campaigning for low taxes.

Some senior Tories have raised eyebrows about Fullbrook's appointment, given his lack of previous experience in government.

He has decades of experience in campaigning in the UK and abroad, but no prior role in a department of state.

One former colleague of Fullbrook described him as "avuncular" and someone who had been an asset to Crosby because of the strength of his links with the Tory grassroots. However, he struck out on his own in March this year after more than a decade of working with Crosby.

Crosby sat on the advisory board of Fullbrook Strategies, along with Sir Michael Hintze, a Conservative donor and Australian billionaire who helped fund a UK-based lobby group campaigning against net-zero climate action.

Jill Rutter, a senior fellow at the Institute for Government and former No 10 civil servant, said the chief of staff role would be done in many different ways but was traditionally held by people with some experience of working with the civil service or running a team in opposition.

"Is he clear what the role is and does that person have an ability to create the relationships needed to make that role work?" she said.

"If it's Mark Fullbrook, does he run No 10 and what is his relationship with the civil servants, and does he have experience inside government, or is he basically there to say 50% of the time [Truss has] got her eye on the next election and things should be done through the lens of getting her reelected?"

"We've had so many incarnations of the chief of staff job, but both [Truss and Fullbrook] will need to be clear of the expectations of the role and how it fits in with all the other roles inside No 10."

Truss briefed her MPs at the backbench 1922 Committee yesterday that her election campaign was already beginning, and that Fullbrook would brief the party on her strategy next week.



▲ Mark Fullbrook's appointment raised eyebrows among senior Tories

'Is he there to say 50% of the time Truss has got her eye on the next election and things should be done through that lens?'

Jill Rutter

Institute for Government

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Dismay at Truss's failure to appoint dedicated minister for women

Alexandra Topping

Women have reacted with dismay at Liz Truss's decision not to appoint a minister for women to her cabinet team, instead naming the Cabinet Office minister Nadhim Zahawi as minister for equalities.

A spokesperson for the new prime minister - who previously held the title of minister for women and equalities - confirmed that Zahawi's role "covers women".

Caroline Nokes, the Conservative chair of the women and equalities select committee, said the decision was "disappointing" after a leadership campaign in which Truss had repeatedly used the word "woman" to brandish her "anti-woke" credentials in the culture wars.

"Liz Truss spoke a great deal about how she knew what a woman was during the course of the leadership campaign, we heard the word 'woman' used an awful lot," she said. "So it's disappointing that it then gets dropped from the job title."

"After the prime minister has really majored on the rights of women during the course of the leadership campaign, you have to ask the question: does she now think the job is



◀ Caroline Nokes, the Conservative MP and women and equalities committee chair, called the new portfolio 'disappointing'

PHOTOGRAPH: TOLGA AKMEN/EPA

done? Does she think that there is no gender pay gap, that there is no gender pension gap?"

Nokes said the ball was in Zahawi's court and delivering for women was more important than the job title, but added that it sent the wrong message to the UK's women who had been disproportionately affected by the pandemic in multiple ways.

"I just think it's a really strange thing to do when we've had two years

of, not to put it too bluntly, crap for women," she said.

"We've seen women carrying the greatest share of the burden of carrying responsibilities from schooling and domestic drudgery through the pandemic, and now we are seeing projections that the cost of living crisis is going to hit women hardest."

The role given to Zahawi has been called "women and equalities" or separated into two ministerial roles for more than a decade. Zahawi is not the first man to hold the brief, but he is the first man to also have responsibility for both aspects of it.

The scrapping of the word "women" from the equalities role is less surprising than it may at first appear. While Truss was in the post she often ignored invitations to attend the women and equalities select committee, and rarely used social media to talk about her role.

At the Conservative party conference in October last year Truss said it was "dehumanising" to be "treated as a woman" - calling for everyone to be seen as "individual humans" instead.

She told a meeting that using the word "woman" was box-ticking and

prevented a proper focus on "talents and ideas and hard work".

The shadow women and equalities secretary, Anneliese Dodds, said the scrapping of the word "woman" from the role confirmed that women were "always an afterthought for the Tories". She tweeted: "Under the Conservatives: -Women earn £226 less/year than in 2010 -Half a million are waiting for gynae treatment -Recorded rapes at record highs; convictions at record lows".

Jemima Olchawski, the chief executive of the Fawcett Society, said: "Women make up over half of the population; we are still paid less than men, face horrific levels of gender based violence."

"It's simply unacceptable that women's representation is being downgraded within Truss's cabinet."

Downing Street denied Truss was downgrading the importance of women's rights. "The equalities brief has not changed. The policies which relate to him still apply," said a spokesperson. "Actions the government is taking in this space is how it should be judged rather than on job titles of individuals."

'No regrets' Mercer's wife stands by rant at 'Muppet' PM

Jamie Grierson

The wife of a sacked minister has said she has "no regrets" about an online outburst in which she likened the new prime minister to a Muppet.

After Johnny Mercer's dismissal as veterans' affairs minister yesterday, Felicity Cornelius-Mercer used Twitter to brand Liz Truss an "imbecile" and slam a system that "stinks" and "treats people appallingly". Cornelius-Mercer, who is employed as a private secretary by her husband's office, posted a mocked-up image of Truss with the head of Beaker, a character from The Muppet Show who communicates with staccato beeps.

The outburst garnered media attention, including criticism. But yesterday Cornelius-Mercer tweeted that she had "no regrets".

"Thank you and to my everyday friends on here who understand me I have no regrets, I'm not intimidated nor have I ruined anything, this is politics and PR. Read it or don't. @JohnnyMercerUK is leaving veterans to their fate in the MoD again. They are the losers in this," she wrote.

James Heapey who, like Mercer, was in the armed forces, retained his frontbench place as armed forces minister and will incorporate responsibility for veterans into his role.

Mercer, the MP for Plymouth Moor View, had said he was disappointed about his role but accepted Truss was "entitled to reward her supporters". He also suggested he could quit the Commons, saying: "I have to accept that I will never possess the qualities required for enduring success in politics as it stands, and to be fair to my wonderful family I must consider my future."

'Women are always an afterthought for the Tories ... Under the Conservatives women earn £226 less/year than 2010'

Anneliese Dodds
Shadow secretary



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Number in poverty to increase by a million 'even if fuel bills are frozen'

Patrick Butler
Social policy editor

More than 1 million more people will be forced into poverty this winter, pushing UK deprivation levels to their highest for two decades – even if the government freezes energy prices at current levels, according to a conservative thinktank.

The Legatum Institute, led by the Conservative peer and former government adviser Philippa Stroud, estimated that even if the energy price cap were held at its summer rate of £1,971, another 1.3 million people would slide below the poverty line compared with pre-pandemic rates.

However, Legatum said government intervention to freeze energy prices – expected this week – was essential to avert what would otherwise be an even more drastic “once in a generation” explosion in poverty.

The Social Metrics Commission measure of poverty, introduced in 2018 by cross-party experts chaired by Lady Stroud, goes beyond a simple measure of relative income by taking into account core living costs, such as housing and childcare, and the extra costs of disability. The government initially indicated it would adopt the measure but later dropped the plan.



▲ Protesters demand government action on rising gas and electricity bills in London in February
PHOTOGRAPH: BELINDA JIAO/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

The institute estimated that if ministers failed to tackle gas and electricity prices, and the energy price cap rose as projected to £3,549 in October and again in January to £5,300, numbers in poverty in the UK would increase to 16.65 million, compared with 13.9 million in 2019-20.

The analysis said that, as well as blunting the impact of soaring energy prices, ministers should increase universal credit. With living standards collapsing, many people on low incomes would still struggle with

16.65m

The number of Britons forecast to be living in poverty if ministers fail to tackle energy prices

rising costs for food, clothing, rent and transport, partly because energy prices were already high, and partly as a result of the government's decision to make below-inflation benefit increases of 3.1% in April, when inflation was at 9%.

“Even under the assumption of energy prices fixed at summer 2022 levels, there will still be 15.2 million people in poverty over the course of 2022-23. This would represent the greatest number of people in poverty since the Social Metrics Commission began measuring poverty in 2000-01, and an increase of 1.3 million when compared with pre-pandemic levels,” the analysis says.

Stroud said: “The government should never have been backed into a corner where it is forced to inject billions to freeze energy prices. However, our data shows drastic measures are necessary to stop over 2.5 million more people entering poverty.”

She added: “It is good to see that

Liz Truss is taking this seriously and looking at energy price freezes. This will shield nearly a million and a half from poverty this winter. But if Liz Truss wants to stabilise poverty at pre-pandemic levels, she will need to go further and introduce a 10% uprating of universal credit as existing inflation will still hit the poorest hardest.”

In July Stroud, a special adviser to Iain Duncan Smith when he was work and pensions secretary, set up an independent, cross-party poverty strategy commission and criticised the government for lacking the will to tackle increasing hardship.

An open letter signed by commission members, including the Tory MP and former welfare secretary Stephen Crabb, says UK poverty rates have remained stubbornly above 20% over the past decade and the numbers in deep poverty have grown – a symptom of “an approach that has used poverty as a political football”.

Veteran Labour MP suspended after complaint

Pippa Crerar
Political editor

Veteran Labour MP Nick Brown has had the whip suspended after a complaint was lodged against him under the party's new independent complaints process.

The Guardian understands that the senior politician, who had been chief whip for every Labour leader from Tony Blair onwards, is under investigation following the complaint.

Brown, 72, one of Labour's longest serving MPs, has also had his party membership suspended until the case is resolved.

The former minister said he had not been told what the complaint was about but that he was “cooperating fully” with the investigation.

He is believed to be the highest-profile figure to face investigation under the party's independent complaints process which was brought in earlier this year after Labour was censured by the equalities watchdog over its handling of antisemitism.

In a statement, Brown said: “There has been a complaint made about me to the Labour party which is under investigation. I am therefore under an administrative suspension from the Labour party until the investigation is concluded. I'm not aware of what the complaint is. I am cooperating fully with the investigation.”



▲ Nick Brown was chief whip for all Labour leaders since the Blair era

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Queen misses privy council meeting after advice to rest

Geneva Abdul

The Queen missed a privy council meeting yesterday after being advised by doctors to rest, according to reports.
The palace said the meeting, which

had been due to take place virtually, would be rearranged, the PA news agency reported. A palace spokesman said: "After a full day yesterday, Her Majesty has this afternoon accepted doctors' advice to rest."
"This means that the privy council meeting that had been due to take place this evening will be rearranged."

The Queen, who has been in increasingly frail health, met Liz Truss on Tuesday at Balmoral, where Truss was asked to form a new government after the resignation of Boris Johnson.
Both Johnson and Truss made the 1,000-mile round trip from London, rather than making the monarch, who has had episodic mobility problems since last October, travel back from Scotland.
It was the first time a new prime minister has travelled to Balmoral for an audience with the Queen,

who normally sees incoming leaders at Buckingham Palace.
The 96-year-old monarch experienced mobility problems in June during the platinum jubilee celebrations when she was notably absent from some events.
The Queen remains at Balmoral, and her latest guidance does not include a hospital stay, PA reported.
During the planned privy council meeting, Truss would have taken her oath as first lord of the Treasury and new cabinet ministers would have been sworn into their roles, and also

made privy counsellors if they had not been previously appointed.
In the days before the announcement of the new prime minister, the Queen called off attending the Braemar Gathering in Scotland on the first Friday of September. She normally attends the Highland Games event during her summer break.
Buckingham Palace has declined to give an ongoing commentary on the monarch's health. The Queen had Covid in February, with mild cold-like symptoms, but said the virus had left her "very tired and exhausted".



◀ Many teaching assistants took over the day-to-day running of classes during pandemic lockdowns, the report notes
PHOTOGRAPH: KZENON/ALAMY

Low pay and job cuts spark fears of teaching assistant shortages

Alexandra Topping

Schools in England risk losing vital teaching assistants to better-paid jobs in workplaces such as supermarkets because of the cost of living crisis, according to a report.
Headteachers have also said that cuts to school budgets and promised staff pay rises - which will not be funded by the government - will put schools in a desperate situation and many will have to cut TA roles, taking away support for some of the most vulnerable children.
Researchers at the University of Portsmouth's education research, innovation and consultancy unit said the "chronic" low pay of TAs - despite their increased role in many schools - was "an urgent threat to TAs' livelihoods and to schools".
Dr Rob Webster, a University of Portsmouth researcher who co-authored the report with Dr Sophie Hall, said: "Schools are facing many challenges, but the consequence of the loss of teaching assistants is the most catastrophic. Without these staff, schools will struggle to provide adequate support to children with additional needs. Teachers' workloads will also skyrocket, driving yet more from the profession and deterring others from joining."
Almost all - 96% - of TAs questioned for the report said their pay was not enough to cover their needs, and many said their commitment to improving the lives of the most vulnerable children kept them in post. "It's never, never been about the money. I definitely wouldn't be doing this for the money," said one.

One headteacher said a rolling advert for eight TAs had attracted only one since January. Another told the report's authors: "Basically, I think we will start haemorrhaging TAs. Not only here, but in other places, because you can get paid more money in the supermarket."
Headteachers are resorting to offering "wellbeing days" and special treats alongside access to more training and a greater voice in the school to encourage TAs to stay, even as many struggle to pay for the petrol to get to work, the report found.
The Unison-commissioned report found that the pandemic had transformed TAs' role "potentially for ever". "Teaching assistants stepped up during the pandemic and repeatedly proved their worth, as they were doing long before the crisis struck," said Unison's head of education, Mike Short. "But chronic low pay is threatening to rob classrooms of dedicated, experienced staff, just when schools need them most."
A previous Unison-commissioned report by researchers at UCL's institute for education found nearly nine out of 10 (88%) TAs supported vulnerable and key-worker children in school during lockdown, with 51% managing a whole class or bubble, as teachers prepared and taught remote lessons, often from home.
The report, which includes data from 22 interviews with TAs, teachers and headteachers from five primary schools in England, finds TAs are now helping students who have fallen behind, supporting their emotional needs, filling in for special educational needs and disability (SEND) staff and supporting parents and carers.

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People with poor mental health 'more prone to long Covid'

Ian Sample

Science editor

People who are highly stressed, anxious, lonely or depressed before catching coronavirus are more prone to long Covid than those in good mental health, according to a major study.

A Harvard analysis of health data from nearly 55,000 US volunteers, most of whom were women, found that high levels of psychological distress before Covid infection raised the risk of long-term illness by 32%-46%.

The results highlight the urgent need to support people with mental health conditions and the importance of building mental health resilience more widely in the population to reduce the impact of long Covid.

"Depression, stress and loneliness are very, very common, and the fact that they increase the risk of long Covid a fair amount is notable," said Andrea Roberts, a senior research scientist at the Harvard TH Chan school of public health. "The associations were stronger with these risk factors than with other things we know to be associated with long Covid, such as obesity, hypertension and asthma."

A sizeable minority of people who catch Covid develop long-term, often debilitating ailments such as fatigue, breathlessness, brain fog and heart problems. About one in six middle-aged people and one in 13 younger adults in the UK have symptoms that persist for more than three months.

There are thought to be multiple causes, ranging from abnormal immune responses to damaged tissue and residual virus lurking in the body.

49%

Increase in likelihood of long Covid in people who had two or more forms of psychological distress

While the relationship between mental wellbeing and long Covid is unclear, psychological distress can drive chronic inflammation and disrupt the immune system, potentially making people more vulnerable to long Covid, the researchers note in the JAMA Psychiatry journal.

The Harvard team used questionnaires to rank the mental wellbeing of 54,960 US volunteers drawn from the Nurses' Health Studies and the Growing Up Today study. Most of the volunteers were white female nurses aged 40 to 70. In April 2020, none had tested positive for Covid, but the following year over 3,000 caught the virus and recorded their symptoms.

Those who scored higher on depression, stress, anxiety, loneliness and worry before catching Covid were more likely to report symptoms lasting more than a month. Such enduring symptoms were 49% more likely in people with two or more forms of psychological distress compared with those who reported none. A similar pattern was seen in people whose symptoms lasted at least two months.

All Covid symptoms apart from a cough and problems with smell or taste were more common in those who were distressed before they caught the virus. Depending on the type of distress, volunteers were 15% to 51% more likely to say long Covid impaired their daily lives compared with those with no mental health issues before testing positive.

The findings do not mean that mental health issues cause long Covid: over 40% of those who developed long Covid in the study had no signs of distress before infection.

Siwen Wang, first author on the study, said: "Future research should investigate whether better management of psychological distress can prevent people from getting long Covid or improve their symptoms."



Top-flight campaigner

Greta Thunberg holds a specimen of one of the rarest birds in the world, the Philippine eagle, at the Natural History Museum in London. The climate activist took part in an event about biodiversity loss that will be available to schools via YouTube.

PHOTOGRAPH: TIM WHITBY/GETTY

Four men arrested over killing of Olivia Pratt-Korbel released on bail

Mark Brown

North of England correspondent

A 34-year-old man arrested on suspicion of the murder of nine-year-old Olivia Pratt-Korbel and attempted murder has been released on conditional bail.

The man, from Liverpool, was one of four people arrested on Sunday. Three other men, aged 29, 34 and 41,

suspected of assisting an offender, were also bailed, Merseyside police said yesterday.

Olivia was shot by a gunman who forced his way into her family home in the Dovecot area of Liverpool at about 10pm on 22 August. The assailant was chasing a convicted burglar, Joseph Nee, who had burst into the house when Olivia's mother, Cheryl Korbel, opened her front door to see what the commotion outside was.

Police renewed their plea for information, including any CCTV, dashcam or smart doorbell footage that could help inquiries. A spokesperson said: "The investigation into Olivia's tragic murder is ongoing and we still need to build up a strong evidential picture so that we can bring those responsible to justice."

Police have praised the public response as "phenomenal" but the appeal still stands, said assistant chief constable Chris Green. Olivia's funeral is due to take place in Dovecot on 15 September. The family have requested mourners "wear a splash of pink".

Playful Austen letter about her own 'Mr Darcy' goes on show

Steven Morris

A letter in which a young Jane Austen confides she is to "flirt her last" with a dashing Irish lawyer believed by some romantics to have inspired one of her most famous characters, Mr Darcy, is to be shown in public for the first time.

The missive, the oldest known surviving Austen letter, was sent to her sister, Cassandra, when the author

was a fun-loving 20-year-old about to write the story that became *Pride and Prejudice*.

Written over two days in January 1796, she describes her excitement an upcoming ball and some of the people she was to meet there including Tom Lefroy, an Irish lawyer.

At one point she mentions Lefroy and says, clearly light-heartedly, that she does not "care sixpence" for him. She takes up her pen next day and adds: "At length the day is come on which I am to flirt my last with Tom Lefroy & when you receive this it will be over. My tears flow as I write, at the melancholy idea." Again, she sounds playful rather than genuinely heartbroken.

There has long been speculation that Lefroy - or at least parts of his character - provided inspiration for Darcy and the romance - if that was what it was - between the pair was



◀ Jennifer Ehle and Colin Firth in the 1995 BBC adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*; portraits of Jane Austen and Tom Lefroy, below

PHOTOGRAPH: ALAMY



the subject of the 2007 film *Becoming Jane*, which starred Anne Hathaway and James McAvoy.

The letter is being displayed alongside a portrait of Lefroy at Austen's former home in the village of Chawton, Hampshire, as part of an exhibition that opens today. Called

Jane Austen in Love, the exhibition also features costumes worn by Hathaway and McAvoy in the film.

Sophie Reynolds, the curator of Jane Austen's House, said the letter was one fans of the author would be excited about. "She's young, she's out partying, she's a bright young thing. Her handwriting is big, enthusiastic, she is pouring her heart out. It's a bright, sparkling letter that could have been written by Lizzy Bennet herself," added Reynolds.

A letter written by the author in 1813 is also on display at the museum in a twin exhibition called *Jane Austen in London*. It reveals details of everyday life in the capital from shopping trips to a painful trip to the dentist. The writing is smaller, the words more composed.

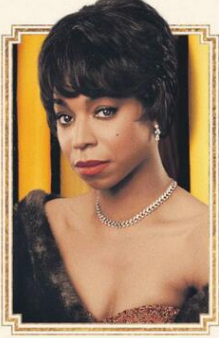
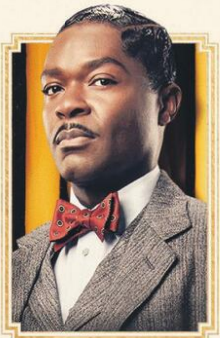
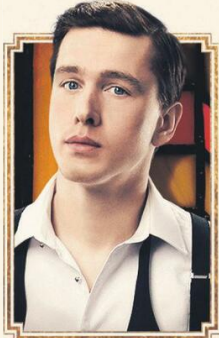
Jane Austen in Love and Jane Austen in London are on until 5 March 2023

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IN CINEMAS TOMORROW

Protein found on human eggs could help explain infertility

Nicola Davis

Science correspondent

A fundamental step in human fertilisation has been discovered by researchers, who say it may offer new insights into unexplained infertility.

Experts have identified a new

protein that is found on the surface of human eggs. Called Maia, after the Greek goddess of motherhood, the protein appears to be involved in the fusion of sperm and eggs.

Prof Harry Moore of the University of Sheffield, and lead investigator of the study, told the Guardian the findings may help to shed light on cases

where fertilisation fails during IVF for unknown reasons.

He added tests could be developed to explore whether an individual's sperm is unable to bind to Maia, or whether someone's eggs do not have the protein on their surface. "These tests are possible, whether they become common is difficult to say," he said.

Writing in the journal *Science Advances*, researchers from countries including the UK, the Czech Republic and Japan report how they began the work by attaching 13m

different protein segments, or peptides, to the surface of synthetic microbeads. Each bead was around the same size as a human egg, and attached to a different peptide.

When the team incubated human sperm with these beads, they found less than one in 1,000 bound to the sperm. "You could identify them because the sperm caused the beads to spin round and round as it is binding to it," said Moore.

Through further work they were able to identify the peptide that was attached to the surface of these

beads, and hence the full protein it related to. They were also able to identify the gene that gives rise to this "Maia" protein in the body.

The team then used molecular modelling and other techniques to probe the role of Maia. The approach confirmed previous findings that sperm initially bind to a protein on the surface of the egg called Juno, but also suggested that sperm subsequently detach from Juno and bind to Maia - Maia then collapses into the egg membrane, drawing the sperm into the cell.



◀ *Sweeteners have come under increased scrutiny in recent years*

PHOTOGRAPH: JONATHAN KNOWLES/GETTY IMAGES

Sweeteners linked to increased risk of heart disease

Andrew Gregory

Health editor

Artificial sweeteners are linked to an increased risk of heart disease and "should not be considered a healthy and safe alternative to sugar", according to researchers.

The harmful effects of added sugars have been long established for multiple chronic diseases, leading food companies to use artificial sweeteners instead in a wide range of foods and beverages consumed daily by millions of people worldwide.

Their use has come under increased scrutiny in recent years, but study findings have been divided about their role in various diseases.

Their role in cardiovascular disease has previously been suggested in experimental studies, but data from human studies was limited, and previous observational studies focused solely on artificially sweetened drinks used as a proxy.

Now the findings from a large-scale prospective cohort study suggest a potential direct association between higher artificial sweetener consumption and an increased risk of cardiovascular disease.

"Our results indicate that these food additives, consumed daily by millions of people and present in thousands of foods and beverages, should not be considered a healthy and safe alternative to sugar, in line with the current position of several health agencies," the researchers wrote in the *BMJ*.

In the study of 103,000 French adults, artificial sweeteners were associated with increased risk of cardiovascular, cerebrovascular, and coronary heart diseases. "The results suggest that artificial sweeteners might represent a modifiable risk factor for cardiovascular disease prevention," they wrote.

The research, led by experts from the Sorbonne Paris Nord University, examined intake of sweeteners from all sources including drinks, table-top sweeteners and dairy products, and compared it with their risk of heart or circulatory diseases. Participants had an average age of 42 and four out of five were female. Sweetener intake was tracked using diet records.

The participants noted everything they ate, including which brand, for 24 hours, with the diet diary repeated three times at six-month intervals - twice on weekdays and once on a weekend day. Some 37% of them consumed artificial sweeteners.

During an average follow-up period of about a decade, 1,502 cardiovascular events were recorded. These included heart attacks, strokes, mini strokes and angina.

Artificial sweetener consumption was linked to a 9% higher risk of cardiovascular disease, the *BMJ* reported. When they looked at specific types of illness they found artificial sweetener consumption was linked to an 18% higher risk of cerebrovascular disease - conditions that affect the blood flow to the brain.

A specific type of sweetener - aspartame - was associated with a 17% increased risk of cerebrovascular events, while acesulfame potassium and sucralose were associated with increased coronary heart disease risk.

The study was observational so cannot establish cause or rule out the possibility that other unknown factors may have affected the results. Nevertheless, the researchers said it was a large study that assessed artificial sweetener intake using precise, high-quality dietary data, and the findings were in line with other studies linking artificial sweeteners with markers of poor health. Further studies were needed, they added.

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PAKISTAN EMERGENCY APPEAL

The people of Pakistan have been hit by torrential rains and catastrophic flash floods, which have washed away their homes, livestock and crops. With heavy rains continuing to fall in many areas, your help is urgently needed to save lives.

Since June, more than 1,000 people have died – with this number expected to rise. Hundreds of thousands have been displaced by the floods, and are now living in makeshift camps, or with host families.

UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, is working on the ground, distributing lifesaving support to affected communities, including Afghan refugees who have been generously hosted in Pakistan for many years. But to reach more people, we urgently need your support.

£80 could help provide emergency relief items such as shelter, bedding and solar lamps.

Filippo Grandi, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said:

“Rain and floods have been catastrophic for millions of people. We urgently need global support and solidarity for Pakistan in these dire times.”

In the worst hit areas of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces, UNHCR has provided refugee villages and host communities with more than 71,000 emergency relief items, including tents,

plastic tarpaulins, sanitary products, cooking stoves, blankets, solar lamps and sleeping mats. Thousands of sandbags have been delivered to help households build up defences around their homes.

The extent of this disaster, however, means much more help is needed, and needed fast.

With your support today, UNHCR can reach the most vulnerable families and save lives. Please will you stand in solidarity with families who have lost everything in the floods?

Please give £80 to help provide a family who has lost their home with the essentials they need to survive.

UNHCR has the global reach and local knowledge to get aid through quickly to the people who most need it. Teams are continuing to work in the hardest-hit areas, but they urgently need your support to provide more people with shelter and the practical items that could save their lives.

Please help save lives by giving £80 to provide emergency essentials like shelter, bedding and solar lamps.



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Landmark ruling forces Environment Agency to better protect wetlands

Patrick Barkham

The high court has ordered the Environment Agency to reduce water abstraction and protect England's rare wetland habitats, in a landmark case confirming that European conservation laws remain enforceable despite Britain having left the EU.

The victory for farmers Tim and Geli Harris means the agency will be forced to tackle the damage caused by the removal of water from the internationally important wetlands of the Norfolk Broads, home to rare species including the Norfolk hawker dragonfly and the swallowtail butterfly.

Abstraction of water from England's largest protected wetland - situated in one of the driest regions of the country - is done mostly so that farmers can irrigate crops.

The couple have spent £1m on legal challenges over more than a decade, winning a key battle six years

ago when a public inquiry found that abstraction licences were damaging critically endangered plants at Catfield Fen, a site of special scientific interest (SSSI) that the Harrises own in part. They took the agency to court again because it was failing to stop abstraction reducing the flow of groundwater at other internationally important wetland sites across the Broads.

Tim Harris said: "My wife and I are pleased that the high court has ruled that there must now be urgent work done by the Environment Agency to prevent damage from water abstraction to the whole Broads special area of conservation and its unique ecosystems."

Farmers argue that reducing abstraction would harm their ability to grow food such as potatoes, a high-value crop farmed on dry land close to the Broads and irrigated using water from it. Harris said that though reducing abstraction would lower some yields - and land values



▼ Tim and Geli Harris, the farmers who won the court case on water abstraction, at Catfield Fen

PHOTOGRAPH: SI BARBER/THE GUARDIAN

- it would encourage farmers to grow less water-hungry crops.

He said: "It's not about food security, it's about crop choice. They should be growing wheat, and they can still grow potatoes, it's just that irrigation adds about 15% to yields and land values. Should we destroy the whole of the Broads for the sake of that extra value in agricultural land when the largest by far revenues come from tourism?"

In deciding the case, the court applied a little-known legal provision in Brexit legislation that says that even though the UK has left the EU, rules in European directives - in this case, the habitats directive

'Should we destroy the whole of the Broads for the sake of that extra value in agricultural land?'

Tim Harris
Farmer

- remain enforceable against UK public authorities if those rules have been recognised by a court as being enforceable prior to Brexit.

The court also ruled that a lack of funding for the Environment Agency

was not a valid reason for it failing to meet its legal duties.

The agency said it had already informed 20 abstraction licence holders in the Ant Valley that their licences must be reduced, constrained or revoked. A spokesperson said: "We are working to restore, protect and enhance the environment but like every public organisation we have limited resources, so focus our efforts on the greatest threats to the environment."

"Originally the scope of this investigation was to evaluate the impacts of abstraction in the Ant Valley to protect the Ant Broads and Marshes SSSI. As a result of the judgment in this case we will now look at how we can expand our work to cover further protected sites whilst recognising the resource constraints. We remain committed to working with landowners, abstractors and Defra bodies to ensure that we continue to address unsustainable abstraction."

A spokesperson for the National Farmers Union said the agricultural sector in the region was working with Water Resources East on a long-term strategic plan for water resources, and farmers were already taking steps to maximise water efficiency. The spokesperson said: "It's important that any solutions to the water resource challenges we face find the right balance between food production and environmental protection."

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Discovery of stone-age amputee is proof of early surgical skill, say experts

Rafqa Touma

A 31,000-year-old skeleton missing its lower left leg and found in a remote Indonesian cave is believed to be the earliest known evidence of surgery, according to a peer-reviewed study that experts say rewrites understanding of human history.

An expedition led by Australian and Indonesian archaeologists stumbled upon the skeletal remains while excavating a limestone cave in East Kalimantan, Borneo, looking for ancient rock art in 2020.

The finding turned out to be evidence of the earliest known surgical amputation, pre-dating other discoveries of complex medical procedures across Eurasia by tens of thousands of years. Using radioisotope dating, the scientists estimated the remains to be about 31,000 years old.

Palaeopathological analysis of the remains revealed bony growths on the lower left leg indicative of healing and suggesting the leg was



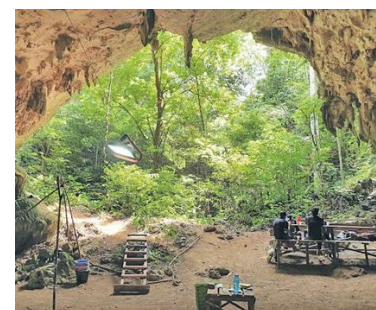
surgically amputated several years before burial.

Dr Tim Maloney, a research fellow at Griffith University in Queensland, who oversaw the excavation, said the discovery was an “absolute dream for an archaeologist”. He said the research team, which included scientists from the Indonesian Institute for Archaeology and Conservation, was examining ancient cultural deposits

when they crossed stone markers in the ground revealing a burial site.

After 11 days of excavation, they found the skeleton of a young hunter-gatherer with a healed stump where the lower left leg and foot had been severed.

Maloney said the nature of the healing, including the clean stump, showed it was caused by amputation and not an accident or animal attack.



◀ An artist's impression of the amputee found in Borneo. Above, the skeletal remains of the young hunter-gatherer discovered in a cave

MAIN IMAGE: JOSE GARCIA/PA WIRE

“[The hunter] survived not just as a child, but as an adult amputee in this rainforest environment,” Maloney said. “Importantly, not only does [the stump] lack infection, but it also lacks distinctive crushing.”

Before this discovery, Maloney said it had been widely accepted that amputation was a guaranteed death sentence until about 10,000 years ago, when surgical procedures advanced with the development of large settled agricultural societies.

The previous oldest evidence of a successful amputation was a 7,000-year-old skeleton of an elderly farmer from stone-age France whose left arm was amputated.

“This finding very much changes the known history of medical intervention and knowledge of humanity,” Maloney said. “It implies that early people ... had mastered complex surgical procedures allowing this person to survive after the removal of a foot and leg.”

Maloney said the stone-age surgeon must have had detailed knowledge of anatomy, including veins, vessels and nerves, to avoid causing fatal blood loss and infection. He said the successful operation suggested some form of intensive care, including regular disinfection post-operation.

Emeritus Prof Matthew Spriggs of the Australian National University's school of archaeology and anthropology, who was not involved in the study, said the discovery was “an important rewrite of our species history” that “underlines yet again that our ancestors were as smart as we are, with or without the technologies we take for granted today”.

The study was published in the journal Nature.

‘This finding very much changes the known history of medical intervention’

Dr Tim Maloney
Archaeologist

Giggs faces 2023 retrial over assault allegations

Josh Halliday
North of England correspondent

Ryan Giggs has said he is “disappointed” to face a second trial next summer over allegations of assault and coercive behaviour against his former girlfriend.

The former Manchester United and Wales footballer will face a retrial from 31 July 2023 after jurors in his first trial were unable to reach verdicts last week. Giggs, 48, will have been on bail for more than two and a half years by the time he next faces a jury at Manchester crown court.

He was not present at court yesterday as the prosecutor, Peter Wright QC, confirmed that the Crown Prosecution Service would seek a retrial in 11 months. Wright told the judge the CPS had considered the case “at a senior level” and that “we do seek a retrial in respect of Mr Giggs”.

Wright said the complainant,



▲ Ryan Giggs will go on trial again on 31 July PHOTOGRAPH: PETER POWELL/REUTERS

Giggs’s former partner Kate Greville, 38, had also indicated that she was prepared to give evidence in a new trial. It is due to begin almost a year after the start of Giggs’ first trial and more than two and a half years after he was arrested on 1 November 2020.

The judge said Giggs would remain on bail and that he was “well aware” of its conditions. He was not required to attend court for a pre-trial hearing on 3 July 2023.

After the hearing, Giggs said: “After more than three weeks in court I am obviously disappointed that a retrial has been ordered. My not-guilty plea

remains in relation to all charges. I am confident that justice will eventually be done and my name will be cleared of all the allegations.”

The former Wales manager is charged with using coercive and controlling behaviour against his then girlfriend, Greville, between August 2017 and November 2020.

He is also charged with assault occasioning actual bodily harm against Greville. Giggs faces a third charge related to the alleged assault of Greville’s younger sister Emma Greville.

Giggs denied all three charges.

‘Breakthrough’ malaria vaccine co-creator pleads for UK funding

Lizzy Davies

The co-inventor of a groundbreaking vaccine that could eradicate malaria has implored Liz Truss not to squander UK innovation by “turning off the taps” on global health funding.

As results from the latest trials were revealed, Prof Adrian Hill, director of Oxford University’s Jenner Institute, said it would be “tragic” if Britain cut funding just as new tools, such as the R21 vaccine, were poised to make “a real impact” against malaria.

Results from testing in Burkina Faso showed that R21 – already shown to be 77% effective after the initial doses – maintains its high efficacy after a single booster jab.

Hill, co-creator of the AstraZeneca Covid vaccine, said he believed R21 could help to reduce deaths from malaria by 70% by 2030 and eradicate it by 2040. Researchers hope that the vaccine could be approved by the World Health Organization next year.

The Global Fund to Fight Aids, Tuberculosis and Malaria – which provides more than half the financing for world malaria programmes – has said it will need significantly more money from leading donor countries.

The UK has yet to say what it will pledge but the fund is thought to have asked for about £1.8bn. As foreign secretary, Truss outlined a strategy for overseas aid marked by an overall spending reduction.

“It’s incredibly important that the Global Fund is properly re-funded,” said Hill. “I hope the new prime minister will be very keen to recognise the importance.”

A Foreign Office spokesperson said: “As the third largest donor to the Global Fund, the UK has invested £4.1bn to date to fight Aids, tuberculosis, and malaria around the world. We will continue to support its vitally important work.”

77%

Effectiveness of the R21 malaria vaccine in trials, raising hopes it will reduce deaths by 70% by 2030

£1.8bn

Funding believed to be sought from the UK by the Global Fund to aid its vaccine delivery programmes

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A026 - GUARD_NEWS_08



◀ *Testimonies of a generation's trauma: Sujaya Dasgupta, left, and Nimmi Harasgama as Mina in Silence*
PHOTOGRAPH: MANUEL HARLAN

Theatre review Powerful, poetic telling of India's brutal partition

Silence

Donmar Warehouse, London

★★★★☆

Arifa Akbar

Few English-language writers have catalogued the lived experience of partition, that bloody historical watershed in 1947 when British rule in India ended but not before the Raj had carved up the land and redrawn boundaries that sparked communal violence and mass migration of epic proportions.

Salman Rushdie fictionalised it in *Midnight's Children*, Hanif Kureishi wrote of it in his memoir of 2004, and then, on the 70th anniversary of Indian

independence, the journalist and broadcaster Kavita Puri began an extraordinary oral project, recording the experiences of British Asians. That became the BBC Radio series *Partition Voices*, which became a book. Now comes a play adapted by Sonali Bhattacharyya, Gurpreet Kaur Bhatti, Ishy Din and Alexandra Wood.

The testimonies, delivered by seven actors, keep their power in this co-production with Tara theatre, though they come in snippets and glimpses, hopping from sitting rooms in contemporary Lewisham to villages in 1940s Punjab, and do not always come with enough context. They are bound together by a journalist, Mina (Nimmi Harasgama), presumably based on Puri. She is on a mission to record the voices of a generation before they are lost, including the story of her father

(Bhasker Patel). It is a flimsy conceit which entails a clumsy newsroom scene, and then short, shifting and disjointed moments, mostly featuring narrated memories while Mina listens on the sidelines.

Under the direction of Abdul Shayek, Mina gives us plenty of historical facts but is dramatically underwhelming. As a first-generation British Pakistani whose Indian-born father experienced partition, *Silence* speaks to me in its trauma and discussions of colonial history. But it does the latter in

tones that are too blunt and broad-brush. Mina breaks out into mini educational treatises, summarising the British strategy to divide and rule and quoting the truism: "We are here because you were there."

There are moments of potency and poetry: of trains dripping with blood, terrified flights across borders, women abducted and raped. There is bewilderment over how quickly Hindu, Sikh and Muslim neighbours turn on each other, but unity too: a Sikh farmer standing up for Muslim neighbours, a Muslim woman breastfeeding Sikh children, and a mixed heritage couple (Sujaya Dasgupta and Jay Saighal) who talk about British Asian identity today.

Those who listened to the radio series may recognise several of the stories, although they lose some of their visceral force in this dramatisation. Still, the production leaves us deeply moved; Puri opens her book with her father's silence, broken after 70 years, and the plot here drives towards the untold story of Mina's father, which brings the biggest emotional punch.

There are accounts of bewilderment and pain, but unity too

Until 17 September. Then at Tara theatre, London, 22 September to 1 October

Watchdog to investigate lack of price clarity in marketing of telecoms deals

Mark Sweney

The UK advertising watchdog has launched an investigation into whether telecoms companies are misleading consumers about inflation-busting bill increases when promoting deals in their marketing campaigns.

Telecoms companies make billions of pounds annually by instituting price rises to mobile and broadband bills midway through contract periods - increases that will add to the biggest squeeze on the cost of living facing households in generations.

The Committees of Advertising Practice (Cap) - which write the codes that all UK advertisers have to follow when running ads in any media have launched a consultation to scrutinise whether telecoms companies are clearly telling consumers about looming price rises in their campaigns.

The timing of the decision to launch the consultation is in part due to concerns that many telecoms companies raise prices annually in line with inflation, now at a 40-year high, which means millions of consumers could face bill rises of as much as 20% next spring.

"Rising inflation means consumers are experiencing a squeeze in the cost of living," Cap said. "In that context, it is even more important that consumers are presented with clear and prominent information in advertising about what their contract will cost them throughout its term."

The consultation aims to examine whether telecoms marketing, which Cap said was often complex, complies with rules preventing misleading advertising including by not omitting material information on price changes.

"The variety of contract types, product bundles and media involved can provide a challenge to how this information is presented," it said.

"Monthly cost is likely to be one of the key considerations for consumers when choosing a telecoms package, and so it is reasonable to consider that the fact that price will or may not remain the same throughout the contract should be as upfront as possible, to enable consumers to make properly informed decisions between packages."

Issues include not explaining terminology relating to rises such as the retail prices index and consumer prices index - two different inflation measures - and not clearly telling consumers that introductory prices will not be the amount they will pay by the end of their contracts.

Other issues include promoting deals just before annual price increases are introduced each April, so consumers only get an offer for a very limited time.

EU may let farmers sell barn eggs as free range due to avian flu risk

Tom Levitt

Eggs produced in the EU could continue to be labelled as free range even if the birds were not allowed outside, under new proposals.

The European Commission has proposed scrapping the time limit on the marketing of eggs as free range if

chickens are forced to be housed to reduce the risk of bird flu outbreaks. It comes after Europe and the UK suffered the worst bird flu outbreak on record this year, with more than 46 million birds culled on farms.

In past years, cases of avian flu have receded with warmer weather. But outbreaks have continued across the UK and the rest of Europe for far longer this year. The order to keep

birds indoors in the UK, which began in November, was only lifted in August. In some parts of the Netherlands housing orders have now lasted more than 10 months.

A virologist and World Health Organization adviser, Marion Koopmans, says bird flu is no longer just a seasonal threat but is now circulating year-round in Europe. An avian flu vaccine for chickens is not available, although trials are under way.

Farmers have been given increasing grace periods, currently 16 weeks, during which eggs can be marketed as free range as long as a compulsory housing order for birds remains

in place. After the grace period eggs have to be labelled as "barn eggs".

A draft proposal from the commission, not yet approved by the European parliament, says: "Where temporary restrictions have been imposed ... eggs may be marketed as 'free range'."

Robert Gooch, the chief executive of the British Free Range Egg Producers Association, said: "It's very necessary that the UK aligns with the EU, otherwise retailers will import eggs labelled as free range from housed hens in the EU in the event of [an avian flu] epidemic when there are none on the UK market."

Eyewitness



▼ **Paris**
Workers move a painting at Notre-Dame Cathedral, which is being restored after the 2019 fire
PHOTOGRAPH: STÉPHANE DE SAKUTIN/AFP/GETTY



World

Putin threatens to tear up Black Sea grain deal and end all fossil fuel exports to Europe

Andrew Roth
Moscow

Vladimir Putin has said he wants to revise a fragile international agreement to allow the export of Ukrainian grain in a move that could threaten the deal and revive fears of a renewed Russian naval blockade in the Black Sea.

During a bellicose speech at an economic conference in Vladivostok, Putin said he would speak with the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, about “limiting the destinations for grain exports”, issuing a false claim that only two of 87 ships leaving Ukraine with grain had gone to poor countries.

The statements came during a speech in which Putin also threatened to cut off all deliveries of gas, oil and coal to Europe if it imposed a price cap on Russian energy imports. Recalling a Russian fairytale, he said that Europeans could “freeze like the wolf’s tail”.

The speech, nominally dedicated to the economy and trade, was one of the Russian leader’s most belligerent and defiant since the beginning of the Ukraine war. At one point, Putin declared that Russia had “lost nothing” in launching a war that has killed tens of thousands of people, including thousands of its own soldiers.

“We haven’t lost anything and we won’t lose anything,” said Putin when

‘We will not supply anything at all if it contradicts our interests – gas, oil, coal, heating oil’

Vladimir Putin
Russian president

asked about the cost of the invasion, which began more than six months ago. “The main gain is the strengthening of our sovereignty.

“Of course, a certain polarisation is taking place,” he continued, in a nod to Russia’s isolation, “both in the world and within the country, but I believe that this will only be beneficial.

“No matter how much someone would like to isolate Russia, it is impossible to do this,” he added, claiming that Russia would pivot toward Asia as its ties were cut with Europe.

The remarks were given at the Eastern Economic Forum, a Russian showcase that was a diminished

▼ *Putin falsely claimed that only two of 87 grain shipments to leave Ukraine had gone to poor countries*

PHOTOGRAPH: STANISLAV KRASILNIKOV/TASS/AP



affair this year. Only Myanmar and Armenia sent top politicians to attend the event.

But what was lacking in grandeur, Putin made up for in bluster, rehashing old tropes about the end of US hegemony and the importance of sovereignty even after he sent troops to Ukraine to occupy territory and unseat the government of Volodymyr Zelenskyy. As in the past, he said that Russia was willing to continue the war “until the end”.

The speech comes as Putin’s bloody military offensive has stalled in Ukraine and he remains deadlocked with Europe in an energy war that could further impoverish Russia and leave millions in the cold abroad.

In his speech, he portrayed Russia as the victim, saying western sanctions had “replaced the pandemic” as a threat to the world order. “I am speaking of the west’s sanctions fever, with its brazen, aggressive attempt to impose models of behaviour on other countries, to deprive them of their sovereignty and subordinate them to their will,” he said.

“Will there be any political decisions that contradict the contracts? Yes, we just won’t fulfil them. We will not supply anything at all if it contradicts our interests,” Putin said on the threat to stop delivering oil and gas, according to a Reuters translation of his remarks. “We will not supply gas, oil, coal, heating oil – we will not supply anything.”

Putin claimed that grain leaving Ukraine was being exported not to poor countries, but instead to the EU. He claimed that only two ships of 87 had gone to developing countries. Data from the UN showed that Putin’s claim was false by a factor of at least 10.

Nonetheless, Putin said that he would consider renegotiating the grain deal with Turkey, potentially putting the agreement at risk. “We should probably think about limiting the destinations for grain exports, and I’m going to discuss that with Mr Erdoğan, president of Turkey, because it was he and I who came up with this plan,” Putin said.

In the speech, Putin also spoke in support of the extremely severe 22-year prison sentence for the journalist Ivan Safronov, who was convicted on trumped-up treason charges in a court case that hinged on secret evidence.

Asked about the hundreds of journalists forced to flee the country due to draconian new laws against criticising the war and freedom of speech, Putin indicated that they were traitors.

“I assure you, they are happy they’re able to leave,” he said of the journalists. “They’ve always worked against our country, but now under the guise of some kinds of threats here, they happily moved away for the same salaries they earned here.”

Many of them voiced disgust over the remarks. “Yep, being placed on the wanted list is what I’ve always dreamed of,” wrote Andrei Soldatov, a Russian journalist who has been living abroad since the invasion.



Kharkiv Ukrainian forces launch surprise offensive

Pjotr Sauer
Isobel Koshiw Kyiv

Ukraine has launched a surprise counteroffensive in the north-east Kharkiv region, stretching Russian forces that are also facing Ukrainian attacks in the south.

An official representing the self-proclaimed republic of Donetsk said Ukrainian forces “encircled” Balakliia, an eastern town of 27,000 people situated between Kharkiv and Russian-occupied Izium “after prolonged artillery preparation”.

“At this time, Balakliia is in operative encirclement and within the firing range of Ukrainian artillery. All approaches are cut off by fire,” Daniil Bezsonov said on Telegram.

He added that a successful Ukrainian offensive would threaten Russian forces in Izium, a strategically important town Russia has been using for its own attacks in eastern Ukraine.

Unverified footage circulating on social media yesterday showed what looked like a Ukrainian soldier posing in front of an entrance sign for Balakliia. Ukraine’s army has yet to comment on the alleged offensive.

Oleksiy Arestovych, one of the advisers of the Ukrainian president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, said “lightning-fast changes” were taking place in the Kharkiv region. This was in parallel to the southern offensive in the Kherson region announced by Ukraine’s military last week.

Yesterday, the Institute for the Study of War, a Washington-based thinktank, said Ukrainian forces had probably captured Verbivka, which is less than 2 miles north-west of Balakliia, on Tuesday, citing geo-locatable images posted by Ukrainian soldiers.

Without specifying any locations, the Luhansk regional governor, Serhiy Haidai, told Ukrainian television yesterday: “A counterattack is under way and ... our forces are enjoying some success.”

Ukraine’s military offered some confirmation of the alleged offensive

Mar-a-Lago search
Nuclear secrets
reportedly found
Page 29

In ferment
Vineyards hope for
end to rankings row
Page 30



▲ Workers inspect the rubble at a residential complex in Kharkiv after shelling yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID RYDER/ZUMA PRESS WIRE/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

yesterday, saying the army shot down a Russian military Sukhoi Su-25 aircraft near Volokhiv Yar, a town about 12 miles north-east of Balakliia.

On Tuesday afternoon, Serhiy Leshchenko, another presidential adviser, published and then later deleted a tweet that said there would be “great news from President Zelenskiy on the counteroffensive operation in Kharkiv region”.

But there was no mention of the offensive in Zelenskiy’s nightly address on Tuesday; instead he urged people to pay equal attention to fighting on all areas of the front.



▲ Ukrainian service personnel leave Bakhmut, Donetsk region, yesterday

“It is simply unfair when there is a lot of talk about certain areas of the front, while others seem to be forgotten,” he said.

Neither the Kremlin nor the Russian defence ministry have commented on the alleged counterattacks.

The offensive in Kharkiv came as Andrei Turchak, the head of the ruling United Russia party, proposed to hold referendums in occupied territories on joining Russia on 4 November, when Russians celebrate National Unity day.

“It would be right and symbolic to hold referendums on this very day,” Turchak wrote on his Telegram channel, the most concrete sign yet that Russia is planning to go ahead with annexing Ukrainian territories.

Also yesterday, a report by the London-based Centre for Information Resilience’s Eyes on Russia project said it was highly probable that Russian forces had shelled Enerhodar, the Russian-occupied satellite town of the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant.

The centre’s investigators also verified previously published footage that showed a rocket firing from next to the plant – controlled by Russia – as well as images of Russian equipment at the plant.

German lessons Refugee pupils keep up with classes

Kate Connolly
Potsdam

A brief exchange between Liudmyla Mashkova and her pupils, in which she asks them in German to open a window in their stuffy classroom, illustrates how far they have come. “Ja, klar,” Artur Ivanov responds in the same language, and there’s a collective sigh of relief as everyone enjoys the fresh breeze.

The teacher, from Kyiv, has been leading a class of Ukrainian students aged 12 to 17 since April. They are in Potsdam, west of Berlin, where the Helmholtz Gymnasium, a German secondary school, has given them space and resources.

Mashkova has been employed to teach German in one of the thousands of *Willkommensklassen* set up at schools across the country to help settle young people. She fled in March with her 16-year-old son and five-year-old daughter, leaving behind her husband, an officer in the Ukrainian army.

Like her pupils, Mashkova had hoped for a quicker end to the war. Now they are together once again at the start of a new school year. There are a couple of newcomers while some pupils from the Kyiv region had texted her over the six-week

break to let her know they had returned home.

One of their first discussions on arriving back after the summer break was to check up on their families, and she recalls the relief she felt on hearing that “nothing dramatic” had happened to them.

Her class is among more than 150,000 school-age children who have arrived in Germany since the start of the invasion and are being integrated into the school system. Mashkova is one of many Ukrainian teachers vital to the effort, not least because of a shortage of about 30,000 German teaching staff.

Opinions differ as to the best way to educate them. German authorities are modelling the accommodation of young Ukrainians on the experience from 2015, when almost 1 million

refugees arrived from Syria. Back then the *Willkommensklassen* were introduced with the goal of preparing children for eventual transfer into regular classes.

The Ukrainian consul general, Iryna Tybinka, however, has been insistent that Ukrainian children should be able to continue with their native school curricula, due to what she has called the temporary nature of their stay.

Kate Pavlenko, from Kharkiv, arrived five months ago with her mother and pets, Robin the dog and Krosha the parrot. In her basic but solid German, she describes being in Germany as “good, interesting and safe”.

She and her classmate Daria Ilnytska, from Kyiv, could take extra online classes offered by their teachers in Ukraine after their school day is over. Instead the 13-year-old friends take the tram to Potsdam’s Montelino circus school where they’ve been able to resume the acrobatics they practised in Ukraine. “Next to my family and friends it’s the most important thing I have here,” Daria says.



◀ Liudmyla Mashkova, far right, and the Ukrainian pupils in her *Willkommensklasse* in Potsdam

PHOTOGRAPH: KATE CONNOLLY/ THE GUARDIAN

Energy EU outlines five-point plan to limit Russia’s funds

Jennifer Rankin Brussels
Kate Connolly Berlin

The head of the EU executive has set out plans for windfall taxes, mandatory electricity savings and a cap on the price of Russian gas to limit Kremlin revenues used to finance the “atrocious” war in Ukraine.

Ursula von der Leyen outlined a five-point plan in response to an energy price crisis, driven by the Russian shutdown of the key Nord Stream 1 pipeline but exacerbated by the climate crisis and lingering effects of the Covid pandemic.

Low-carbon energy companies, renewable and nuclear suppliers that have reaped “enormous revenues ... they never dreamed of” from

generating electricity will face a cap on their revenues, Von der Leyen said, with proceeds earmarked to help domestic consumers and companies pay “astronomical” bills.

Under EU energy rules, the price of electricity is determined by the cost of the most expensive fuel rather than cheaper renewables or nuclear. As a result of record gas prices, low-carbon generators have been rewarded with a big increase in income.

“These revenues do not reflect their production costs,” she said. “So it is now time for the consumers to benefit from the low costs of low-carbon sources.” The European Commission proposed “to re-channel these unexpected profits” to allow member states to support vulnerable households and companies.



▲ Ursula von der Leyen has proposed a cap on the price of Russian gas

Oil and gas companies that have made “massive profits” would also be subject to a windfall tax, which Von der Leyen called a “solidarity contribution”.

Finally, Von der Leyen proposed a cap on the price of Russian gas, saying it was necessary to cut revenues that “Putin uses to finance his atrocious war in Ukraine”.

The plan to cap Russian gas ran into immediate opposition from the Czech Republic’s industry minister, Jozef Sikela, who is due to chair an EU crisis meeting tomorrow. “It’s not a constructive proposal,” he told the Czech senate, adding that it looked like further “sanctions against Russia [rather] than an actual solution to the energy crisis in Europe”.

Meanwhile the German leader, Olaf Scholz, has rejected calls for his government to commit to a longer-term extension of its nuclear power plants and insisted that Europe’s largest economy would have enough energy to get through the winter.

Scholz shouted down criticism from the opposition conservative alliance that his coalition’s decision to keep two remaining nuclear reactors in emergency reserve rather than letting them produce electricity was “madness”.



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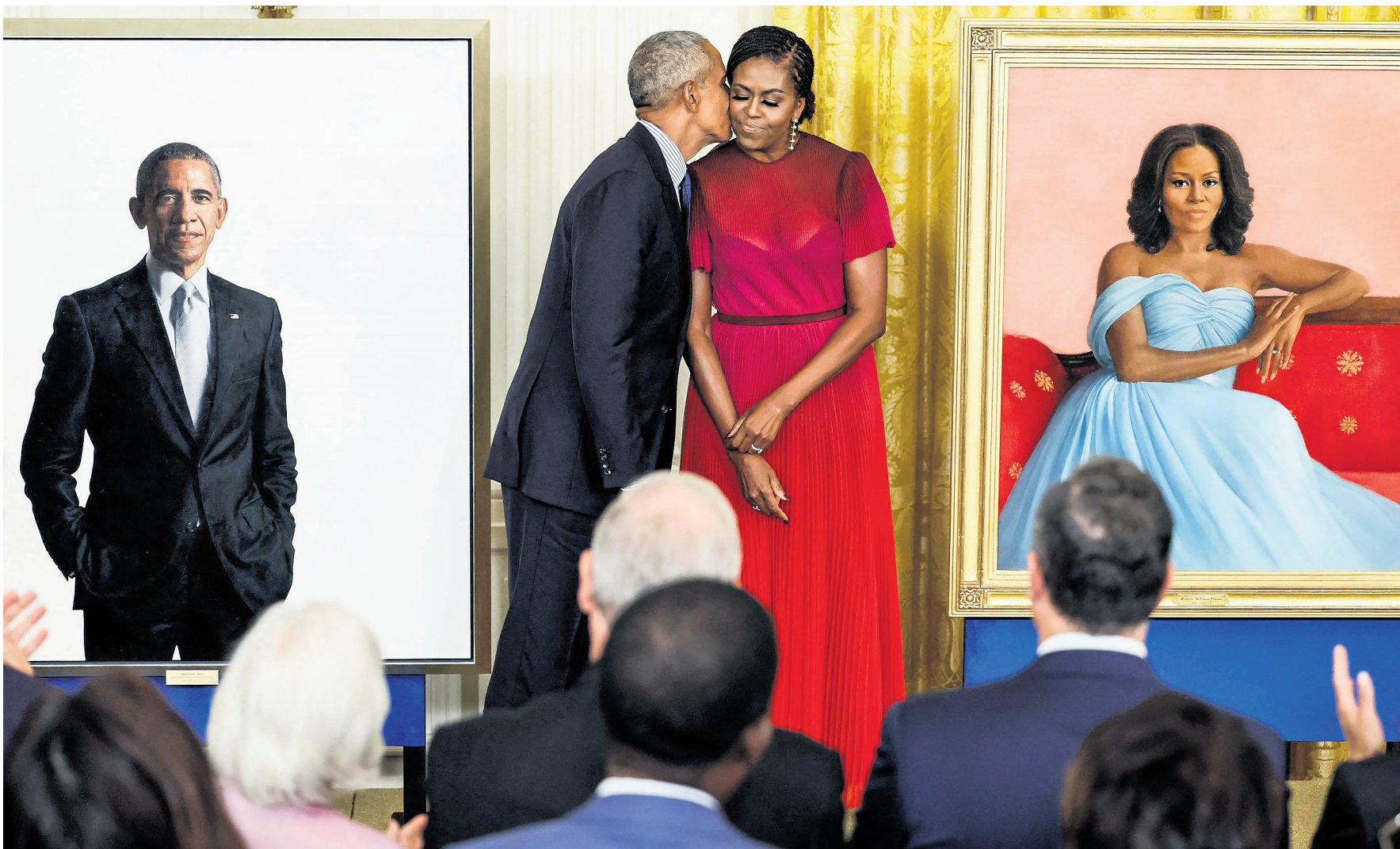


The Guardian | The Observer



Portraits of authority

The former US president Barack Obama kisses his wife, Michelle, during the unveiling of their official portraits, painted by Robert McCurdy and Sharon Sprung respectively, in the east room of the White House yesterday.



PHOTOGRAPH:
EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/
REUTERS

Mar-a-Lago targeted by spies from Russia and other countries, says ex-CIA chief

Continued from page 1

The Office of the Director of National Intelligence is conducting a damage assessment review focused on the sensitivity of the documents, but US officials said it was the job of FBI counterintelligence to assess who may have gained access to them.

That is a wide field. The home of a former president with a history of being enthralled by foreign autocrats, distrustful of US security services and boastful about his knowledge of secrets is an obvious foreign intelligence target.

"I know that national security professionals inside government, my former colleagues, are shaking their heads at what damage might have been done," John Brennan, a former CIA director, told MSNBC.

"I'm sure that Mar-a-Lago was being targeted by Russian intelligence and other intelligence services over the course of the last 18 or 20 months, and if they were able to get individuals into that facility, and access those rooms where those documents were and made copies of those documents, that's what they would do."

Shawn Turner, a former director of communications for US national intelligence, said in an interview yesterday on CNN: "The fact we now know there were highly classified, restricted access documents about another country's nuclear defence capabilities stored at Mar-a-Lago is a gamechanger with regard to the risk it poses to our national security."

"That these documents may have been seen by unauthorised personnel ... tells individuals what our capabilities are with regard to intelligence collection related to nuclear programmes."

Last month, the Organised Crime and Corruption Reporting Project reported that a Russian-speaking

immigrant from Ukraine had been able to mingle with the former president's family and friends at Mar-a-Lago in May 2021, posing as Anna de Rothschild and presenting herself as an heiress of the banking dynasty.

Inna Yashchyshyn, the daughter of a lorry driver who emigrated to Canada, regaled those around her with tales of vineyards and estates and growing up in Monaco, and even met Trump, getting herself photographed with him on a golfing green.

There is no evidence that Yashchyshyn was a spy but the episode underlined how easy it was to get into Mar-a-Lago. During Trump's presidency, two Chinese women were caught trespassing there on separate occasions.

One of them, Yujing Zhang, was in possession of four mobile phones, a laptop, an external hard drive and a thumb drive later found to carry malware. In her hotel room, investigators found nine USB drives, five sim cards and a "signal detector" device for spotting hidden microphones or cameras. She was found guilty of unlawfully entering a restricted building and making false statements to a federal officer, and was deported to China in 2021.

The guests are not the only security concern. In 2021, the Trump Organization sought 87 foreign workers for positions at Mar-a-Lago, with wages starting at \$11.96 an hour.

"Any competent foreign intelligence service, whether those belonging to China, those belonging to Iran, to Cuba, certainly including Russia are ... and were interested in gaining access to Mar-a-Lago," Peter Strzok, a former deputy assistant director of counterintelligence at the FBI, told MSNBC.

'Any competent intelligence service is interested in gaining access to Mar-a-Lago'

Peter Strzok
Former FBI official

Analysis J Oliver Conroy

Why US legal experts are in uproar over Trump ruling

A US federal judge's decision to halt an investigation into the potential mishandling of classified documents by Donald Trump has thrown the legal world into uproar over whether former presidents retain special legal privileges.

In Monday's ruling, Judge Aileen Cannon, a Trump appointee, agreed to his request that an independent mediator known as a "special master" be permitted to review about 11,000 documents seized by FBI during a search of his Mar-a-Lago home in Florida.

Unusually, she also authorised the special master, typically a retired judge or lawyer, to look for material protected by "executive privilege", the controversial legal doctrine that says US presidents and their staff can refuse certain legal demands on the grounds of national security or functioning of the executive branch.

In 1974, when Watergate prosecutors subpoenaed tapes from the White House, Richard Nixon argued the recordings were protected by executive privilege. The supreme court disagreed.

In her ruling, Cannon held that Trump faced "unquantifiable potential harm by way of improper disclosure of sensitive information to the public".

"That's insane," responded Neal Katyal, a professor of national security law at Georgetown and a former acting US solicitor general, on Twitter. Every criminal defendant experiences "reputational harm. Are we now going to have special masters in every [criminal] investigation?"

Katyal described Cannon's reasoning as so bad it was "hard to know where to begin". Executive privilege, he said, "isn't some post-presidential privilege that allows presidents to keep documents after they leave office. At most, it simply means these are executive documents that must be returned to the archives. It doesn't ... mean they can't be used in a criminal prosecution about stolen docs."

Other legal experts also criticised the ruling as abnormal and unduly protective of Trump. It was "an unprecedented intervention by a federal district judge into the middle of an ongoing federal criminal and national security investigation", Stephen Vladeck, a law professor at the University of Texas, told the New York Times.

Trump's legal manoeuvres were criticised by his former attorney general William Barr, describing them as "a crock of shit".



▲ Grapes at Chateau Angélus, which has withdrawn from the rankings

France in a ferment as prestigious vineyard ratings are unveiled

Angelique Chrisafis
Paris

Winemakers in the historic vineyards of St-Émilion in France are hoping that prestigious wine rankings unveiled today will put an end to more than a decade of court cases and legal wrangling.

The sedate area of St-Émilion in Gironde, south-west France, with its Romanesque architecture and vineyards, is classed as a world heritage site. It is at the centre of a long-running row over its famous rankings, which are decided every 10 years.

The fierce competition to be part of a select group of elite local wineries has helped make St-Émilion one of the most sought-after wines in the world, with some bottles fetching thousands of euros.

The rankings have been compared to the Michelin Guide's influence on the restaurant trade. They can build careers but they can also leave a bad taste. Several historic estates in the region filed lawsuits over the 2012 rankings, but after lengthy



proceedings they lost their final appeal this year. More recently, certain top chateaux withdrew from the competition.

St-Émilion's ranking system, which began in the 1950s, is claimed to be far more democratic than most wine classifications because it is reviewed each decade. But it is also held to be among France's most demanding and complex ranking systems, using criteria including taste, terroir, wine-making practices and brand recognition.

Before this year's eagerly awaited rankings, three of the current top four estates – Angélus, Ausone and Cheval Blanc – surprised observers by pulling out. Pierre Lurton from the Cheval Blanc chateau told Le Monde he was “tiptoeing away without denigrating the efforts of other vineyards in the contest”.

The message was clear: for the most prestigious and well-established wineries there was little at stake in no longer taking part in the vast effort of competing, including expensive entry fees and lengthy application dossiers.

▲ St-Émilion in France updates its wine rankings every 10 years, with the latest edition due out today

PHOTOGRAPH: TIM GRAHAM/GETTY IMAGES

But more than 100 other local winemakers are awaiting today's announcement. The prize can cause the value of a vineyard to double overnight. Being selected for a ranking secures a reputation and allows premium pricing, but more importantly is the boost to land values in a region that has become one of the most coveted wine areas in the world.

“It is regrettable that some properties leave the rankings, because this classification system is so clearly a

‘It is regrettable that some properties leave the rankings ... it's not an obligation’

Franck Binard
St-Émilion wine council

collective endeavour for our wine region,” said Franck Binard, the director general of the St-Émilion wine council. “However, anyone is free to put themselves forward or not, it's not an obligation. I like to use the analogy of the Michelin Guide: it has existed for decades, there are some huge restaurants with three-star ratings who have decided to no longer be part of it, and yet the Michelin Guide still exists and is incredibly famous; its publication is awaited each year.”

Binard added: “What is specific about the St-Émilion ratings is that they are revised every 10 years – it's one of the only rankings to question itself in that way. It's a gauge of quality for consumers.”

It is not clear whether fresh legal wrangling could follow today's announcement.

Jane Anson, a wine expert and the author of the book *Inside Bordeaux*, said: “Despite the lawsuits and all the controversy, I know that the rankings have had more applications this year than ever before. So definitely people within St-Émilion do still see a big value in it.”

Hong Kong court finds five guilty of sedition over children's books

Sum Lok-kei Hong Kong
Agencies

A court in Hong Kong has convicted five speech therapists of producing “seditious publications” in the form of a series of illustrated children's books that depicted sheep trying to defend their village from wolves.

The convictions are the latest using a colonial-era sedition offence that authorities have deployed to stamp out dissent.

Prosecutors said the animals were analogies for Hong Kong residents and mainland Chinese respectively, and were intended to incite hatred towards the latter. The defence argued that the books' content was open to interpretation and that they did not call for armed rebellion.

But in his verdict, the judge, Kwok Wai-kin, wrote that the books had been meant to guide the mind of readers, and that the publishers did not recognise Beijing's sovereignty over Hong Kong. “The seditious intention stems not merely from the words, but from the words with the proscribed effects intended to result in the mind of children,” Kwok wrote.

One of the books, titled *The Twelve Warriors of Sheep Village*, appears to make reference to 12 Hong Kong protesters who tried to flee to Taiwan.

The five defendants – Lai Man-king, Melody Yeung, Sidney Ng, Samuel Chan and Fong Tsz-ho, all in their 20s – have been in custody with bail denied since July last year.



▲ The picture books depict sheep defending their village from wolves

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'Europe or die'

Desperate flight across borders for Afghans escaping Taliban rule

Ghaith Abdul-Ahad
Istanbul

Shukriya and her husband huddled together at the bottom of a deep trench on the Turkish-Iranian border. Around them were other Afghan families and their children, some of whom had improvised tents out of shawls and scarves to stave off the punishing glare of the summer sun.

Everyone, babies included, crouched in silence as they waited for the smugglers to return. They had led the scared families to the trench four days earlier, promising to take them across a fortified border wall built to deter people like them from entering Turkey.

About 300,000 people are estimated to have made the perilous journey from Afghanistan to Turkey since western forces withdrew and the Taliban regained power. Shukriya's own journey began in the last week of July 2021, when the Taliban closed in on her hometown of Herat in north-west Afghanistan. She and her husband, Nur-Mohamad, had to make a quick choice: stay and relive the past under Taliban rule, or join the hundreds of thousands of Afghans fleeing into an unknown future.

"I never thought the Taliban would come back," Shukriya said. "But when we saw them occupy other provinces, we decided to run away. We took nothing but the clothes on our backs."

Their first stop was Nimruz province bordering Iran, where they contacted a smuggler. They left the next night, part of a large group of refugees on a perilous journey. After they reached the Iranian town of Zahidan, another smuggler crammed them into a bus and drove them to the north-western city of Uromya. Their final destination was Turkey.

After a 24-hour journey packed into a small bus, Shukriya and her husband arrived near the Iran-Turkey border where they waited. Five days later, the smugglers identified a safe spot from which to cross. On the other side of the border, in the Turkish city of Van, they were rounded up and arrested, put in camps and threatened with deportation. The Turkish officials took pity on them and issued them with temporary papers.

In Istanbul, which is home to a large Afghan community, the couple now live in a small, stuffy,



attic flat with a thin metal roof. Their baby daughter was born prematurely and had to spend four months in hospital. Fearing deportation when their temporary papers expire, Nur-Mohamad rarely leaves the flat and the family survives on whatever income Shukriya can make as a hairdresser, joining an army of destitute refugees inhabiting Istanbul.

On the outskirts of Istanbul in a hilly neighbourhood of factories and warehouses, 50 young Afghans work, eat and sleep inside a workshop making travel bags. The foreman, a short and thin man called Habibullah, pointed at the workers bent over their workstations and said with



► Afghan refugees in Istanbul sort waste to sell in self-organised, unregulated and low-paid work
PHOTOGRAPH: BÜLENT KILIÇ/AFP/GETTY

▼ Migrants held during a raid by Turkish police on a house used by smugglers in the city of Van
PHOTOGRAPH: SEDAT SUNA/EPA



'We can't go out; if the police arrest us we will be sent back to Afghanistan'

Habibullah
Afghan refugee, Istanbul

closely with US forces, and when Kabul fell last summer, his old American friends put him on a high-priority evacuation list.

Twelve hours before his flight, he left his hiding place and headed to a designated meeting point. But half an hour later he heard the sound of an explosion and gunfire and saw people running away. Realising there had been a devastating attack - the bombing by an Islamic State franchise that ended up killing as many as 170 civilians and 13 US troops - he left quickly and went back to his hiding place.

The next day he inquired about his flight and the soldiers stationed at the airport told him no one was allowed in. He decided to leave Afghanistan, crossing into Pakistan in October. The group he was with descended into the Iranian side of the desert, where smugglers were squeezing up to 45 people at a time on to pickup trucks. They sped across the border at night.

The smuggler told them a bus would arrive to take them to Istanbul, but amid a police raid on a supposed safe house, Shahin jumped from the second floor and ran into woodland with other men. Another young refugee joined him, and in the morning they walked back to the town to get some help.

A man took pity on them and took them to his home where a young woman - to their astonishment - spoke to them in Dari. "She told me she was a soldier and had served with a Turkish army unit stationed in Jalalabad for six months," Shahin said. The acquaintance turned out to be a stroke of luck - her brother helped them reach the next town and he eventually arrived in Izmir, on the west coast of Turkey. From there, he thought, he could reach Europe.

"Three times, the Turkish police arrested me and took me to deportation camps, but when I showed them my military card, they took pity and let me go," he said, placing the laminated card in his palm. "I will keep trying until I reach Europe or die."

apparent pride that they were all Afghan. Back in Afghanistan, he had been a high school teacher in the eastern province of Khost, where he ran a small grocery shop.

He arrived in Turkey seven months ago, he said, fleeing Afghanistan's desperate economic situation. He said young Afghans were arriving every day, but that increasing numbers were being deported by the police who had stepped up raids. So he and his fellow workers now rarely left the factory floor. "We can't go [outside]. We are confined here, because if the police arrest us, we will be sent back to Afghanistan."

Turkey, which hosts nearly 4 million refugees - mostly Syrians, along with a few hundred thousand Afghans and other nationalities - followed a lenient migration policy for a long time. Obtaining a short-term residency in Turkey was a simple process. However, Turks, facing a worsening economic situation, have directed their resentment towards refugees, accusing them of stealing jobs and increasing rents.

Shahin had been battling the Taliban for more than a decade as an army officer and a member of a Pashtun clan opposed to the militant movement. Serving in the army staff command, he worked

Notice of Compulsory Acquisition under Section 134(7) of the Planning Act 2008

THE A428 BLACK CAT TO CAXTON GIBBET DEVELOPMENT CONSENT ORDER 2022

Notice of authorisation of compulsory acquisition

The above Order, made under the Planning Act 2008 by the Secretary of State for Transport and published on 18 August 2022, includes provision authorising the compulsory acquisition of land, existing rights over land and of rights over land by creating new rights over it, as described in Schedule 1.

The Order includes provisions authorising the acquisition for the purpose of the creation of a dual carriageway, works to existing junctions, and the creation of new junctions.

In summary the Order involves:

- A new three-level grade separated junction at Black Cat roundabout, with the A1 at the lower level, the new dual carriageway on the upper level and a roundabout between the two at approximately existing ground level. In addition to slip roads, a new free flowing link between the A421 eastbound carriageway and the A1 northbound carriageway will also be provided.
- A new grade separated all movements junction will be constructed to the east of the existing Cambridge Road roundabout to provide access to the new dual carriageway and maintain access to the existing A428.
- At the Caxton Gibbet roundabout, a new grade separated all movements junction will be constructed, incorporating the existing roundabout on the south side of the new dual carriageway and a new roundabout on the north side. The new dual carriageway will then tie-in to the existing A428 dual carriageway to the east of the new Caxton Gibbet junction.
- In the vicinity of the new Black Cat junction, direct access onto the A1 from some local side roads and private premises will be closed for safety reasons. A new local road will provide an alternative route. The existing Roxton Road bridge will be demolished and replaced with a new structure to the west to accommodate the realigned A421.
- New crossings will be constructed to enable the new dual carriageway to cross the River Great Ouse, East Coast Main Line railway, Barford Road, the B1046/Potton Road, Toseland Road and the existing A428 at Eltisley.
- The existing A428 between St Neots and Caxton Gibbet will be de-trunked and retained for local traffic and public transport with maintenance responsibility transferred to the local highway authorities.
- An alternative access will be provided to side roads at Chawston, Wyboston and Eltisley
- There will be safer routes for walkers, cyclists, and horse riders.

The Scheme also involves changes to a number of existing utilities, including the diversion of a high pressure gas pipeline operated by Cadent Gas Limited which runs parallel to the East Coast Main Line east of the River Great Ouse in Tempsford, Central Bedfordshire (the Diversion). To the extent that the Diversion satisfies the criteria to be considered as a Nationally Significant Infrastructure Project (NSIP) under section 20 of the Planning Act 2008, the Diversion will be treated as an NSIP in its own right

A hard copy of the Order as made by the Secretary of State for Transport, together with copies of the Secretary of State's decision letter and the Examining Authority's report are deposited at the following locations and may be inspected free of charge from 2 September 2022 until 21 October 2022, which are open during the hours set out below:

Deposit Location	Opening Times
St Neots Library 1 Priory Lane St Neots Cambridgeshire PE19 2BH	Monday – Tuesday: 9.30am – 5pm. Wednesday: 1.30pm – 7pm Thursday – Friday: 9.30am – 5pm Sat: 9.30am – 4pm Sunday: Closed
Papworth Library Pendrill Court Ermine Street North Papworth Everard Cambridgeshire CB23 3UY	Monday: Closed Tuesday: 10am – 1pm and 2pm – 5pm. Wednesday: 10am – 1pm Thursday: 2pm – 5pm Friday: Closed Saturday: 10am – 1pm Sunday: Closed
Cambourne Library Sackville House Sackville Way Cambridge CB23 6HL	Monday: 9am – 5pm Tuesday: 9am – 1pm Wednesday: Closed Thursday: 4pm – 7pm Friday: 9am – 5pm Saturday: 9–1pm Sunday: Closed
South Cambridgeshire District Council South Cambridgeshire Hall Cambourne Business Park Cambourne Cambridgeshire CB23 6EA	Monday – Friday: 8am – 5.30pm Saturday and Sunday: Closed
Sandy Library (Central Bedfordshire Council) Market Square Sandy SG19 1EH	Monday: Closed Tuesday: 9am – 6pm Wednesday: 9am – 6pm Thursday: 9am – 7pm Friday: 9am – 6pm Saturday: 9am – 4pm Sunday: Closed
Huntingdonshire District Council Pathfinder House, St Marys Street Huntingdon Cambridgeshire PE29 3TN	Monday – Thursday: 8.45am – 5pm Friday: 8.45am – 4.30pm Saturday and Sunday: Closed

Deposit Location	Opening Times
St Neots Town Council St Neots Customer Service Centre The Priory Centre St Neots Cambridgeshire PE19 2BH	Monday – Thursday: 9am–1pm and 1:30 – 5pm Friday: 9am – 1pm and 1:30 – 4:30pm Saturday and Sunday: Closed
Bedford Borough Council Cauldwell Street Bedford MK42 9AP	Monday – Thursday: 8.45am – 5pm Friday: 8.45am – 4.45pm Saturday and Sunday: Closed
Milton Keynes Central Library 555 Silbury Blvd Milton Keynes MK9 3HL	Monday – Wednesday: 9am – 6pm Thursday: 9am – 8pm Friday: 9am – 6pm Saturday: 9am – 5pm Sunday: Closed
Central Bedfordshire Council Watling House High Street North Dunstable LU6 1LF	Monday – Thursday: 8.30am – 5pm Friday: 8.30am – 4pm Saturday and Sunday: Closed
Cambridgeshire County Council New Shire Hall, Emery Crescent Enterprise Campus, Weald, Huntingdon PE28 4YE	Monday – Thursday: 8.45 –5pm Friday: 8.45am – 4.30pm Saturday and Sunday: Closed

A copy of the Order as made by the Secretary of State for Transport together with copies of the Secretary of State's decision letter and the Examining Authority's report is available to view online through the Planning Inspectorate's website at:

HYPERLINK "<https://infrastructure.planninginspectorate.gov.uk/projects/eastern/a428-black-cat-to-caxton-gibbet-road-improvement-scheme/?ipcsection=overview>" <https://infrastructure.planninginspectorate.gov.uk/projects/eastern/a428-black-cat-to-caxton-gibbet-road-improvement-scheme/?ipcsection=overview>

A person aggrieved by the Order may challenge the Order only in accordance with section 118 of the Planning Act 2008, which stipulates that any proceedings must be brought by filing a claim form for judicial review before the end of the period of 6 weeks, beginning with the day after the day on which the Order was published (or, if later, the day on which the statement of reasons for making the Order (contained in the Secretary of State's Decision letter) was published).

Once the provisions in the Order authorising compulsory acquisition come into force National Highways may acquire any of the land (including any existing rights and/or new rights) described in Schedule 1 below by executing a general vesting declaration under section 4 of the Compulsory Purchase (Vesting Declarations) Act 1981. A statement on the effect of Parts 2 and 3 of that Act is set out in Schedule 2.

Any person who would be entitled to claim compensation if a general vesting declaration were executed is invited to give National Highways information about the person's name, address and interest in land, using a prescribed form. The prescribed form is set out in Schedule 3 and should be returned to National Highways at the following address:

Post: National Highways, Woodlands, Manton Lane, Bedford, MK41 7LW
or by email: "<mailto:info@A428.co.uk>" info@A428.co.uk

Schedule 1
DESCRIPTION OF THE LAND, EXISTING RIGHTS AND NEW RIGHTS

The Order land (as defined in Article 2 of the Order) is shown on the land plans (as defined in Article 2 of the Order) and described in the deposited book of reference (as defined in Article 2 of the Order) within the local authority areas of Bedford Borough Council, Central Bedfordshire Council, Huntingdonshire District Council, and South Cambridgeshire District Council. This notice relates to so much of the Order land as is shown on the land plans shaded pink (compulsory acquisition of all interests and rights in land (including, as required, subsoil and surface land)), and shaded blue (land to be used temporarily and land over which new rights may be acquired permanently (including, where necessary, a right to impose restrictive covenants)).

The Order grants National Highways compulsory acquisition powers over the Order land and such rights over the Order land as may be required for any purpose for which that land may be acquired under Article 24 (compulsory acquisition of land) of the Order, by creating them as well as acquiring rights already in existence. The Order grants National Highways powers to compulsorily acquire rights and create new rights in the land, including for the benefit of the public or other parties. The Order also authorises interference with existing rights and the breach of existing restrictive covenants over the land described and provides for the extinguishment, temporary suspension or discharge of such rights or restrictive covenants.

In the case of the Order land specified in column (1) of Schedule 5 (land in which only new rights etc. may be acquired) of the Order, National Highways' powers of compulsory acquisition are limited to the creation of such new rights in the land or the imposition of restrictive covenants, as may be required for the purpose specified in relation to that land in column (2) of that Schedule.

In accordance with Article 24 of the Order, where National Highways acquires a right over land, National Highways is not required to acquire a greater interest in that land.

1) Land to be permanently acquired

The Order Land comprises a route of approximately 16km in length (with an additional 3km of tie-in works) located within the administrative boundaries of South Cambridgeshire District Council, Cambridgeshire County Council, Huntingdonshire District Council, Bedford Borough Council and Central Bedfordshire Council.

In the Districts of Bedford, Central Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and South Cambridgeshire:

The land comprising the existing A421 highway and agricultural fields from the east of the junction with Roxton Road to the A421 Black Cat Roundabout, and south on the A1 (Great North Road) to the Kelpie Marina. The route of the Order Land continues north from the Black Cat Roundabout up the A1 to the village of Chawston to a point north of The Lane, Chawston and includes highway and agricultural fields. The route continues in an easterly direction, crossing the River Great Ouse west of the A1 (Great North Road).

From crossing over the River Great Ouse and its flood plain, the route continues through agricultural fields in an easterly direction passing under existing high voltage power lines before then crossing the East Coast Main Line railway.

The route then changes to a northerly direction and comprises agricultural fields, passing to the west of Abbotsley Golf Course and crossing the Potton Road and the B1046 before turning east again to run adjacent to and on the southern side of the existing A428.

The route then crosses the existing A428 to the east of the existing roundabout junction with the B1428, Cambridge Road before continuing in a north easterly direction towards the C182 Toseland Road, where the route then dips south east to cross the B1040 St Ives Road before again crossing over the existing A428 to the east of Eltisley to run along the southern side of the A428 before joining the A428/A1198 Caxton Gibbet roundabout.

2) Description of the land comprised in the Order over which new rights are sought and of which temporary possession may be taken

In the District of Bedford:

Land to the north–west and south–west of the Black Cat Roundabout, north–east of Roxton and land to the east of the A1 (Great North Road) north of Rockham Ditch.
Land in the village of Chawston forming part of the Great North Road, land west of the A1 between The Lane and Chawston Lane, land to the east of the A1 north of Riverside Farm, and agricultural land to the west of the A1 and south of Chawston Lane. Land to the east of the East Coast Main Line railway.
Land to the west of the Great River Ouse and land forming part of the riverbed of the Great River Ouse. Agricultural fields and land to the south and east of Top Farm.

In the District of Central Bedfordshire:

Land to the east of the Great River Ouse and land forming part of the riverbed of the Great River Ouse. Land to the east, west and including the East Coast Main Line railway.

In the District of Huntingdonshire:

Agricultural fields to the west, south and north of Potton Road. Land to the south of the A428 at the Cambridge Roundabout, St. Neots. Agricultural land to the north of the A428 and Whittingham Farm. Land to north of the A428, Eltisley, St. Neots.

In the District of South Cambridgeshire:

Land to north of the A428 and both east and west of B1040, Eltisley, St. Neots. Existing A428 and agricultural land south of the A428 at Eltisley, St. Neots. Land and highway south of the A428 to the south east and west of the Caxton Gibbet Roundabout.

3) Description of new rights

Some or all of the following new rights as detailed more fully at Schedule 5 of the Order are sought over the land described in 2) above for the benefit of the remainder of the Order Land:

- i. Right to pass and repass with or without plant and vehicles and including access to highways.
- ii. Rights of installation, maintenance and use of pipes, ducts, cables, electric lines, equipment and apparatus for utilities and electronic communications operators and others.
- iii. Imposition of restrictive covenants for protecting the installed apparatus from excavation and to prevent access to the installed apparatus being made materially more difficult.
- iv. Construction of the realigned access track over Rockham Ditch.
- v. Temporary storage, laydown areas, access and working space to facilitate improvements to the A1 and the construction of the A1 southbound onslip road from the new Black Cat junction circulatory.
- vi. Maintenance access to existing drainage infrastructure.

Schedule 2
Statement on the effect of Parts 2 and 3 of the Compulsory Purchase (Vesting Declarations) Act 1981

Power to execute a general vesting declaration

- 1. Once the provisions in The A428 Black Cat to Caxton Gibbet Development Consent Order 2022, which authorises compulsory acquisition, comes into force the acquiring authority (hereinafter called National Highways) may acquire any of the land (including any existing rights and / or new rights) described in Parts 1 and 2 of Schedule 1 above by executing a general vesting declaration under section 4 of the Compulsory Purchase (Vesting Declarations) Act 1981 (“the Act”). This has the effect, subject to paragraphs 3 and 5 below, of vesting the land in National Highways at the end of the period mentioned in paragraph 2 below.

Notices concerning general vesting declaration

- 2. As soon as may be after National Highways execute a general vesting declaration, they must serve notice of it on every occupier of any of the land specified in the declaration (except land where there is one of the tenancies described in paragraph 4) and on every person who gives them information relating to the land in pursuance of the invitation contained in the notice of the authorisation of the compulsory acquisition. When the service of notices of the general vesting declaration is completed, a period specified in the declaration, of not less than three months, will begin to run. On the first day after the end of this period the land described in the declaration will, subject to what is said in paragraphs 3 and 5, vest in National Highways together with the right to enter on the land and take possession of it. Every person on whom National Highways could have served a notice to treat in respect of his interest in the land (other than a tenant under one of the tenancies described in paragraph 4) will be entitled to claim compensation for the acquisition of his interest in the land, with interest on the compensation from the vesting date.
- 3. The “vesting date” for any land specified in the declaration will be the first day after the end of the period mentioned in paragraph 2 above, unless a counter–notice is served under Schedule A1 to the Act within that period. In such circumstances, the vesting date for the land which is the subject of the counter–notice will be determined in accordance with Schedule A1.

Modifications with respect to certain tenancies

- 4. In the case of certain tenancies, the position stated above is subject to modifications. The modifications apply where the tenancy is either a “minor tenancy”, i.e. a tenancy for a year or a yearly tenancy or a lesser interest, or “a long tenancy which is about to expire”. The latter expression means a tenancy granted for an interest greater than a minor tenancy but having on the vesting date a period still to run which is not more than the period specified in the declaration for this purpose (which must be more than a year). In calculating how long a tenancy has still to run, where any option to renew or to terminate it is available to either party, it shall be assumed that the landlord will take every opportunity open to him to terminate the tenancy while the tenant will use every opportunity to retain or renew his interest.
- 5. The modifications are that National Highways may not exercise the right of entry referred to in paragraph 2 in respect of land subject to a tenancy described in paragraph 4 unless they first serve notice to treat in respect of the tenancy and then serve every occupier of the land with a notice of their intention to enter and take possession after the period (not less than three months from the service of the notice) specified in the notice. The right of entry will be exercisable at the end of that period. The vesting of the land will be subject to the tenancy until the end of that period or until the tenancy comes to an end, whichever happens first.

Schedule 3
Form for giving information on The A428 Black Cat to Caxton Gibbet Development Consent Order 2022

To: National Highways, Woodlands, Manton Lane, Bedford, MK41 7LW
or by email: [HYPERLINK “mailto:info@A428.co.uk”](mailto:info@A428.co.uk) info@A428.co.uk
[I] [We] being [a person] [persons] who, if a general vesting declaration were executed under section 4 of the Compulsory Purchase (Vesting Declarations) Act 1981 in respect of all the land comprised in the order cited above in respect of which notice to treat has not been given, would be entitled to claim compensation in respect of [all] [part of] that land, give you the following information, pursuant to section 134(7)(cza)(ii) of the Planning Act 2008.
I/We believe that I/We am/are entitled to notice if temporary powers are to be exercised over the land referred to in the heading to this notice.

1. Name and address of informant(s) (i)
.....
.....
2. Land in which an interest is held by informant(s) (ii)
.....
3. Nature of interest (iii).....
.....

Signed
.....
On behalf of
Date.....
(i) In the case of a joint interest insert the names and addresses of all the informants
(ii) The land should be described concisely
(iii) If the land is leasehold, the date of commencement and length of term should be given. If the land is subject to a mortgage or other encumbrance, details should be given, e.g. name of building society and roll number.

Financial

House prices
Warning comes
as rise slows
Page 37



Bank independence sacrosanct, insists Kwarteng as pound falls

Richard Partington
Kalyeena Makortoff

The government has moved to quash City speculation that Liz Truss is set to interfere with the political independence of the Bank of England, after a fall in the pound saw it hit the lowest level against the dollar since 1985.

As sterling came under renewed selling pressure yesterday, the new chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng, used his first full day in the job to try to calm jittery financial markets, amid growing concerns over the new prime minister's economic policy.

In a charm offensive with top City bank bosses and investors, as well as the Bank of England's governor, Andrew Bailey, Kwarteng insisted Threadneedle Street's independence from government was "sacrosanct" in the fight against soaring living costs. The Treasury said Kwarteng had met Bailey to "emphasise his full

support for the Bank's mission to get inflation under control".

The comments came as sterling staged a renewed fall against the dollar, plunging by as much as 1% to \$1.406 at one point to touch the lowest level in 37 years. Although the dollar has risen against other currencies in recent weeks, experts say Britain has been singled out for being particularly exposed to inflation and a looming recession.

The prospect of political interference at the central bank - after Truss promised a review of its mandate in her leadership campaign - as well as the prospect of a new prime minister driving up public borrowing through unfunded spending plans, has also weighed on UK assets.

"It is hard to avoid the conclusion that a UK sovereign risk premium has been going into the pound," analysts at the Dutch bank ING said. "[That is] presumably on doubts about at what price investors would be prepared to fund future UK borrowing plans."

'He emphasised his full support for the Bank's mission'

Treasury statement on the chancellor

The latest drop in sterling came as Bailey defended the Bank's record of managing inflation, amid speculation that Truss could remove him as governor at an earlier date than planned.

Analysts at Goldman Sachs have warned of "potential personnel changes" in a review of the Bank's mandate expected this autumn, speculating that Bailey's eight-year term could be halved - meaning a new appointment in 2024. But the Bank and government sources dismissed the suggestion, saying the governor's eight-year term was fixed.

Speaking to MPs on the Commons Treasury committee, Bailey said a

review would be welcomed as a "sensible and good thing to do", but that it was Russia's invasion of Ukraine that was responsible for the inflation shock hitting Britain, and it had left the central bank with limited tools to deploy in response. "The person who is going to put this economy into recession is Vladimir Putin, not the MPC [monetary policy committee]," he said. "By far the largest contribution to this is the war. That's not something that is, I'm afraid, within the remit of monetary policy."

The bank's governor suggested that Truss clarifying her economic plans this week might help clear some of the storm clouds over Britain in financial markets, saying: "I do very much welcome the fact that there will be, as I understand it, announcements this week because I think that will help to, in a sense, frame policy."

With the annual rise in the cost of living now at five times the Bank's 2% target, Bailey dismissed suggestions that the inflation-targeting regime used since 1997 was no longer fit for purpose. He said: "This is by far the biggest shock we are facing during the life of that, but it does not suggest that the regime has failed. What it suggests is that the regime now has to do its work and respond to a much bigger shock, and we are confident that it will do so."

Musk fails to delay trial over aborted Twitter deal

Dan Milmo
Global technology editor

Elon Musk has failed in an attempt to delay a trial over his termination of a \$44bn (£38bn) deal to buy Twitter.

A judge ruled yesterday that the case will go ahead in Delaware on 17 October after deciding that the Tesla boss's request for more time would damage Twitter's business.

The social media company is suing Musk over his decision to walk away from the transaction and is demanding that he complete the deal on the agreed terms.

"I am convinced that even four weeks' delay would risk further harm to Twitter," wrote Kathaleen McCormick, the chief judge of Delaware's court of chancery, affirming the trial will start next month.

However, McCormick ruled that Musk's countersuit against Twitter, to be heard at the same time, can be expanded to include allegations from the whistleblower Peiter Zatkow.

Zatko, a former head of security at Twitter, said in a complaint that the company was "grossly negligent in several areas of information security". He also alleged that Twitter had lied to Musk about bot accounts - one of the key tenets of the Tesla boss's argument for scrapping the deal.

"We are hopeful that winning the motion to amend takes us one step closer to the truth coming out in that courtroom," said Alex Spiro, a lawyer for Musk.

Musk's legal team argued on Tuesday that justice demanded delaying the five-day trial so Musk could investigate claims by Zatko. Musk has argued that Zatko's allegations constituted a "company material adverse effect" that substantially altered the business's value and therefore rendered the deal invalid.

A Twitter spokesperson said: "We look forward to presenting our case in court beginning on 17 October and intend to close the transaction on the price and terms agreed upon with Mr Musk." Twitter said last month that Zatko's statements "are riddled with inconsistencies and inaccuracies and lack important context".

In July, Twitter sued Musk to hold him to his April agreement to buy the company for \$54.20 per share. The company has alleged that Musk got cold feet as global markets turned soon after the deal was signed.

Brian Quinn, a professor at Boston College law school, said the ruling was a "huge loss" for Musk. "Not only does he now have to account for the additional issues he raised with respect to Zatko, he won't get additional time to prepare," he said.

Holmes says witness regrets testimony, in bid for new trial

Kari Paul and agencies

Elizabeth Holmes, the former CEO of Theranos, has requested a new trial, saying in a court filing that a key witness for the prosecution now regrets the role he played in her conviction for investor fraud and conspiracy related to her blood-testing startup.

The petition centres on testimony provided by the former Theranos lab director Adam Rosendorff, who said he had repeatedly raised concerns about the accuracy of blood tests used for patients during his tenure in 2013 and 2014. When Rosendorff was reached via LinkedIn by the Associated Press, he declined to comment, adding: "Do not contact me."

Holmes, 38, was convicted on four felony counts of investor fraud and conspiracy this year after a trial lasting almost four months. She is free on bail but could be jailed for up to 20 years at a sentencing hearing due on 17 October in San Jose, California.

Her lawyers argued in a 17-page filing that Rosendorff was expressing misgivings about his testimony. They said he had gone to Holmes' home on 8 August to try to meet her. Her partner, William Evans, had intercepted



▲ Elizabeth Holmes, centre, and her parents, Noel and Christian, leave a San Jose court after a hearing last week PHOTOGRAPH: DAI SUGANO/AP

him, according to the document, and asked him to leave.

According to the filing, Rosendorff told Evans that during the trial "he tried to answer the questions honestly but that the prosecutors tried to make everyone look bad" and felt like "he had done something wrong". The document also said Rosendorff had left a voicemail for one of her lawyers

asking for a face-to-face meeting with Holmes because he thought it could be "quite healing" for both of them.

Holmes' lawyers said they had not been able to ask Rosendorff for further information for ethical reasons. They proposed a hearing on 3 October to discuss why they believed Rosendorff's actions merited a new trial. On Tuesday, the US district judge Edward Davila rejected a request to set aside the jury's verdicts in Holmes' trial, citing Rosendorff's testimony.

Holmes' trial focused on charges that she had knowingly defrauded

investors and patients of Theranos. She claimed her technology could be used to carry out hundreds of medical tests using just a drop of blood, a claim later revealed to be false.

Holmes said she did not know the extent to which the lab tests had failed, a claim challenged by Rosendorff's testimony. She also claimed her former romantic and business partner Sunny Balwani was abusive and influenced her fraudulent claims, allegations he has denied. Balwani was convicted of similar charges and will be sentenced on 15 November.

 FTSE 100 -62.61 7237.83	 All share -28.78 3976.83	 Dow Indl +275.60 31420.90	 Nikkei 225 -196.21 27430.30	£/€ 1.1525 -0.0114	£/\$ 1.1466 -0.0063
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◀ A production line in China making games controllers for the US company T2M. American firms are seeking government help to reduce reliance on Chinese imports
PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID KIRTON/REUTERS

US tech firms banned from building facilities in China

Joanna Partridge

US technology firms that receive government funding will be banned from building “advanced technology facilities” in China for a decade, the Biden administration has announced, as it outlined plans to increase domestic production of semiconductors.

The requirements come under the US government’s near-\$53bn (£46bn) plan to scale up the manufacturing of semiconductor chips – the “brain” in every electronic device from cars to household appliances – which are predominantly produced in Asia.

The US Chips and Science Act, approved by Congress in August, is part of the American response to a long-running technological dispute between Washington and Beijing, as US firms demand more government support to reduce reliance on

components produced in Chinese factories.

The US Department of Commerce said it hoped to begin seeking applications by next February for \$39bn in government semiconductor subsidies to build new domestic production facilities. The plan will also give a 25% investment tax credit for chip plants.

“We’re also going to be implementing the guardrails to ensure those who receive Chips funds cannot compromise national security,” said the US commerce secretary, Gina Raimondo. “They’re not allowed to use this money to invest in China; they can’t develop leading-edge technologies

in China; they can’t send latest technology overseas.”

The US only produces about 10% of the world’s supply of semiconductors; most chips are manufactured in Taiwan and South Korea.

Global shortages of computer chips, driven by the pandemic, have caused substantial production delays for carmakers, technology companies and other manufacturers.

In addition, China’s increased geopolitical assertiveness, including threatening Taiwan has led to investment in and expansion of semiconductor production in the US, as well as in Japan and the EU.

“These funds are intended to help companies maximise the scale of their projects,” Raimondo said.

The US would negotiate these deals one at a time, she added, saying the companies receiving Chips Act funds – \$280bn in total – would need to “prove to us the money is absolutely necessary to make these investments”.

The US chip designer Nvidia disclosed last week that it had been told by US officials to stop exporting two top computing chips for artificial intelligence work to China.

\$53bn

Cost of the Biden administration’s plan to scale up production of semiconductor chips in the US

Business view Nils Pratley



Here’s a cap on energy prices worth donning

There will be no new windfall taxes on energy firms to help fund the £100bn-plus household and business rescue package, said the prime minister – a predictable answer given her past statements. But what about the obvious alternative: a cap on the price of electricity that is generated by firms whose costs are unaffected by soaring gas prices?

Not every nuclear, wind and solar project is currently making fat and unexpected profits, but many are thanks to an outdated system that ties their revenues to the marginal price of wholesale gas. A decoupling of gas and electricity prices is desperately needed – and the process can’t wait until the completion of the current leisurely official review.

Over in euroland, they’re on the job. Draft proposals are being shuffled around Brussels to set a wholesale price cap for non-gas generators. An announcement is due tomorrow, with the aim of redirecting excess revenues towards member states’ various support packages.

And we know the UK government has done its own emergency work because last week’s chancellor, Nadhim Zahawi, said so. It would be a version of the idea kicked around by various academics, consultancies and even the industry: oblige renewables

generators operating under old-style “renewables obligations certificates”, which are currently supremely lucrative because they pay a premium above the wholesale energy price, to switch to “contracts for difference”. In the latter arrangement, windfall profits don’t arise: revenues above an agreed “strike” price flow to public coffers, in effect.

Since conversations with the generators were being conducted by Kwasi Kwarteng – last week’s business secretary, this week’s chancellor – the new administration should be on top of the details. And the prize for the government is obvious: once you start to bringing down prices in the electricity generation market, the cost of a price cap for households starts to become more affordable.

Lower the Bank tensions

Kwarteng must be the first new chancellor this century who has felt the need at the outset to declare his full commitment to the independence of the Bank of England. A public statement was advisable because Liz Truss’s campaigning rhetoric had set hares racing. Loose talk about reviewing the Bank’s mandate gave financial markets an extra reason to feel nervous about a new “pro-growth economic approach” that will invite international investors to swallow new government IOUs by the bucketload.

The chancellor and the governor have agreed to reinstate weekly meetings, we’re told. But don’t expect markets to stop speculating about what “coordination” will mean in practice. Nor is it helpful to have the likes of Goldman Sachs’ economists speculating already about “potential personnel changes” at the Bank. Keep dialling down the tension.

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Notice is hereby given that National Grid Electricity Transmission plc (National Grid) of National Grid House, Warwick Technology Park, Gallows Hill, Warwick, CV34 6DA intends to apply to the Secretary of State for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy for a Development Consent Order (DCO) under Section 37 of the Planning Act 2008 (as amended) (the Act) to authorise the construction of the Bramford to Twinstead project. This is the second time the Notice of the Application has been published as it was originally published in January 2022 as part of the statutory consultation for the project.

Proposed development

National Grid proposes to reinforce the transmission network between the existing Bramford Substation in Suffolk, and Twinstead Tee in Essex. This would be achieved by the construction and operation of a new 400 kilovolt (kV) electricity transmission line over a distance of approximately 29km. The reinforcement would comprise approximately 18km of overhead line (consisting of approximately 50 new pylons and conductors) and 11km of underground cable system (consisting of 21 cables with associated joint bays and above ground link pillars). Four cable sealing end compounds would be required to facilitate the transition between the overhead line and underground cable technology. It is proposed that approximately 27km of existing overhead line and associated pylons would be removed as part of the proposals (25km of existing 132kV overhead line between Burstall Bridge and Twinstead Tee, and 2km of the existing 400kV overhead line to the south of Twinstead Tee). To facilitate the overhead line removal, a new grid supply point substation is required at Butler’s Wood, east of Wickham St Paul, in Essex. Two options are proposed for the new 400kV overhead line in the vicinity of Hintlesham Woods. Option 1 would utilise the alignment and pylons of the existing 400kV overhead line through the woods, whilst the existing 400kV overhead line would be re-routed to the north and west of Hintlesham Woods. Option 2 would parallel the existing 400kV overhead line to the south, with pylons located outside of the woodland and the conductors crossing the woods.

The project will include:

- a) The construction of approximately 29km (Option 1) of 400kV electricity transmission line from Bramford Substation in Suffolk to Twinstead Tee in Essex (approximately 28km for Option 2), comprising of:
 - I. Installation of approximately 18km (Option 1) of 400kV overhead lines (approximately 17km in Option 2);
 - II. Installation of approximately 11km of 400kV underground cable, of which approximately 7.3km would be within the Dedham Vale Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and the Stour Valley Project Area;
 - III. Construction of four Cable Sealing End Compounds along the route (Dedham Vale East, Dedham Vale West, Stour Valley East and Stour Valley West); and
 - IV. Modifications to, and realignment of sections of the existing 400kV overhead line.
- b) Construction and operation of a new 400kV/132kV grid supply point substation at Butler’s Wood east of Wickham St Paul in Essex. The grid supply point substation, alongside accompanying works, including a single circuit cable sealing end compound, replacement pylons and underground cables to tie the substation into the existing 400kV and 132kV networks.
- c) Removal of approximately 25km of existing 132kV overhead line operated by UK Power Networks.
- d) Removal of approximately 2km of existing 400kV overhead line.
- e) Land for environmental mitigation, compensation and enhancement including Biodiversity Net Gain.
- f) Temporary land use to facilitate construction activities including (but not limited to) working areas for construction equipment and machinery, site offices, welfare, storage and access.
- g) Temporary infrastructure to facilitate construction activities such as amendments to the highway including bellmouths for site access and construction access tracks/haul roads, pylons and overhead line diversions, scaffolding to safeguard existing crossings, watercourse crossings and diversions of Public Rights of Way.
- h) Diversion of third-party assets and land drainage from the construction and operational footprint.

The proposed application will seek authorisation for the compulsory acquisition of land and interests in and rights over land, overriding easements and other rights, the temporary use of land, and other ancillary powers. The proposed project is an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) development, as defined by The Infrastructure Planning (Environmental Impact Assessment) Regulations 2017. An Environmental Statement will, therefore, be submitted as part of the proposed application, which will contain information about the environmental effects of the proposed project. The targeted consultation will take place between Thursday 8 September 2022 and Friday 7 October 2022 (23:59). The targeted consultation will focus on the design changes proposed following the feedback received from the previous consultation which ran from 25 January 2022 to 21 March 2022. National Grid have made changes in particular in the western side of the Stour Valley section of the project. These changes comprise, moving the draft alignment further away from Alphamstone; constructing a proportion of the underground cables using trenchless construction methods; and the construction of a 3.5km temporary haul road from Sudbury Road (A131) to Henny Back Road to facilitate underground cable construction. In addition to the proposed changes in the Stour Valley, National Grid have made a number of smaller changes to the project presented at statutory consultation. These include changes to the size of the draft Order Limits (the land we would need to build the reinforcement), identifying locations where temporary works to the existing highway network may be needed or where existing utilities need diverting, and refining the environmental areas. The documents showing the additional preliminary environmental information, plans and maps showing the nature and location of the proposed application and the changes proposed as part of the targeted consultation, will be available to download free of charge from Thursday 8 September 2022 until Friday 7 October 2022 on www.nationalgrid.com/bramford-twinstead

Reference copies will also be available to view free of charge from Thursday 8 September 2022 until Friday 7 October 2022, at the following deposit points in the vicinity of the project:

LOCATION	OPENING HOURS
Hadleigh Library, 29 High Street, Hadleigh, IP7 5AG	Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday – 9am-5pm; Thursday – 9am-6pm; Saturday – 9:30am-5pm; Sunday – 10am-4pm
Sible Hedingham Library, 169 Swan Lane, Sible Hedingham, Halstead, CO9 3PX	Monday – 9am-1pm; Thursday – 2pm-7pm; Saturday – 9am-5pm
Sudbury Library, Market Hill, Sudbury, CO10 2EN	Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday – 9am-5pm; Tuesday – 9am-7:30pm; Sunday – 10am-4pm
Halstead Library, Bridge Street, Halstead, CO9 1HU	Monday - 9am-5:30pm; Tuesday: 9am-5:30pm; Thursday: 9am-1pm; Friday: 9am-5:30pm; Saturday: 9am-5pm

*Subject to any change in coronavirus restrictions that might impact the opening of these venues. Printed copies of the documents, plans and maps can also be provided on request by contacting the project team on the details at the bottom of this notice. A reasonable copying charge will apply (up to a maximum of £220 for the full suite of documents). The documents can also be obtained free of charge on digital media by contacting the project team.

How to respond to the consultation

The consultation is running between Thursday 8 September 2022 and 23:59 on Friday 7 October 2022. Responses to the consultation can be submitted by:

- completing a feedback form online via the consultation website www.nationalgrid.com/bramford-twinstead
- completing a paper feedback form or a free text response and posting to **Freepost B TO T REINFORCEMENT**
- emailing us a copy of your completed feedback form or free text response to contact@bramford-twinstead.nationalgrid.com
- scanning a paper copy of the response form or submitting a free text response via email at contact@bramford-twinstead.nationalgrid.com

National Grid must receive all responses by 23:59 on Friday 7 October 2022 to ensure their consideration. When deciding on the final form of the proposed application for a development consent order for the proposed project, National Grid will take into account any response to this publicity or the consultation that is received before the specified deadline. National Grid may be required to make copies of representations available to the Secretary of State. However, National Grid will request that personal details are not placed on the public record. Personal details will be held securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018 and will be used solely in connection with the consultation process and the development of this project and, except as noted above, will not be disclosed to any third parties.

Email: contact@bramford-twinstead.nationalgrid.com
Telephone: 0808 196 1515
Website: www.nationalgrid.com/Bramford-twinstead

Rise in house prices slows as industry warned of challenging times to come

Joanna Partridge

The average price of a UK home climbed again in August, although the rate of annual growth slowed as the country's largest lender warned of a "more challenging period" ahead for house prices amid rising interest rates and the cost of living squeeze.

The average price of a home was £294,260 in August, 0.4% higher than the previous month, marking another record high, according to Halifax.

It called the monthly rise "relatively modest" compared with the rapid house-price inflation that has been seen recently, where the average monthly increase has been 0.9%.

The August increase marked a return to growth for house prices, after they fell in July for the first time in more than a year. The annual rate of

house price growth dropped slightly, to 11.5% from 11.8% in July – the lowest level in three months.

The country's biggest house-builder, Barratt Developments, provided further evidence yesterday of a slowdown in the housing market, saying the number of homes reserved each week up until the end of August had fallen below the level of a year earlier, and was now lower than before the pandemic.

Releasing its annual results to investors, Barratt said this was related to a limited supply of homes, combined with "heightened macroeconomic uncertainty", adding that it expects house price growth to moderate.

Despite the gloomier outlook, the builder celebrated bumper earnings from the recent housing market boom, reporting pre-tax profit above £1bn for the first time.

Those results came a day after the London-focused developer Berkeley signalled it was adapting its behaviour to deal with worsening economic conditions, saying it would hold back on buying more land, only doing so "very selectively".

The Bank of England announced its biggest increase in interest rates in 27 years in early August, taking

the UK base rate to 1.75% – a 13-year high – in an attempt to rein in inflation as gas prices drive up energy bills. The central bank's monetary policy committee will next reassess interest rates around the middle of this month, and it is expected to continue raising rates into next year.

"House prices have so far proved to be resilient in the face of growing economic uncertainty," said Kim Kinnaird, director of Halifax mortgages. But she added: "Industry surveys point towards cooling expectations across the majority of UK regions, as buyer demand eases, and other forward-looking indicators also imply a likely slowdown in market activity."

The rises in the energy price cap in October and beyond are expected to increase pressure on household finances, Halifax said, which will also limit housebuyers' borrowing.

"With house price to income

affordability ratios already historically high, a more challenging period for house prices should be expected," Kinnaird said.

According to Sarah Coles, a senior personal finance analyst at investment firm Hargreaves Lansdowne, the housing market only looked "rosy" at the moment because it was largely being viewed through "the rear view mirror".

Growing fears about the impact of energy bills were likely to make housebuyers more cautious, she said.

"Now the cost of living crisis has hit home, and while we may not be forced to face the full impact of rises in energy prices, we're still having to cope with rampant inflation across the board," Coles said. "At a time of rising rates and house prices, this is going to push property out of reach."

Despite these warnings, few analysts expect house prices to tumble soon, and they may even get some support from a squeeze on the supply of new properties hitting the market.

Rising inflation is also putting pressure on building firms, which reported on Tuesday that the prospect of recession is leading their customers to put some projects on hold, forcing them to halt recruitment and the purchase of raw materials.

Energy How to sort out a market in trouble

Christine Farnish



Last month Farnish, a former chair of public body Consumer Focus, tendered her resignation as a director on Ofgem's board, accusing the energy regulator of favouring businesses over consumers. Here, she writes for the Guardian on how she would solve the energy crisis in the long term.

Dealing with the energy crisis is today's top political priority, but the government is preparing to apply a huge and expensive sticking plaster to the energy market, to protect consumers and the economy. On grounds of cost alone this crisis package is not sustainable. The question therefore arises: what sort of market do we want when the plaster is removed?

After privatisation, a small number of powerful incumbents ran the show and, despite the regulator Ofgem's best efforts, there was little benefit for consumers by way of keener prices or improved service. The policy answer appeared to be more competition, so effort focused on opening the market.

A two-tier market developed: some consumers shopped around



and switched every year in search of a better deal. The majority stuck with their existing supplier. These customers often found bills creeping up as their loyalty was exploited. Politicians responded with the retail price cap.

It turns out that the price cap cannot protect consumers from high and volatile energy prices and also distorts the market. We also now know that many cheap deals that looked so enticing

on switching platforms were unsustainable, as were many of the firms offering them.

It should be possible to design a market for the decade ahead that is more in tune with what consumers need and want, still allows competition to flourish and incentivises efficient energy use. To get the debate going, here are my suggestions for market reform.

Universal provision of energy

A modest amount of energy could be provided universally at a regulated price for basic essential use. The costs of this would need to be smoothed over time. Net costs could be funded by top-slicing energy profits in upstream markets.

It could be provided by current suppliers or by others through a competitive franchising process.

▲ *The regressive standing charge means poor people in small flats pay the same as the rich in huge houses*

PHOTOGRAPH: BLUE SKY IN MY POCKET/GETTY

The government would need to appoint an independent body to set the parameters, determine the level and organise delivery of a basic energy allowance. This could be Ofgem or a dedicated new organisation. A smartphone app would keep consumers informed of their energy usage and warn them when the limit was being approached. They could then be presented with options for top-up tariffs based on current market offerings. All households would need smart meters for this to work, so local task forces may be needed to ensure they are installed. Major public interventions in

dysfunctional private markets have some precedent. For example, the Low Pay Commission advises on the national minimum wage.

Boost competition in the market

A freely competitive market for energy above this basic level with less prescriptive regulation could be created. This would enable digital and zero-carbon energy services to develop.

Normal consumer law would apply, so contracts would have to be fair, the marketing clear and consumers would need to get what they paid for. Other than that, the plethora of licence conditions and code requirements could be replaced with a set of streamlined requirements on data protocols. This would free up competition and innovation and take cost out of the system.

Ditch the standing charge

The regressive standing charge could be replaced so fixed costs (for example, to pay for networks) are instead recovered proportionately through unit rates. Consumers are flummoxed by standing charges. Bill structure was never reformed post-privatisation, perhaps because monopoly networks found it convenient to levy a "tax" on all consumers in this way.

I am not sure the standing charge is fit for the modern world, both because of its inbuilt unfairness (poor people in flats pay the same as rich people in huge houses regardless of how much energy they use) and because it obfuscates bills and blunts price signals.

With no standing charge, fixed costs would be added to unit rates in a proportionate way, and included pro rata in the basic universal tariff and in charges for energy services. The greater use someone made of the network, the more they would pay, which seems pretty fair.

An expensive sticking plaster for the market is not sustainable



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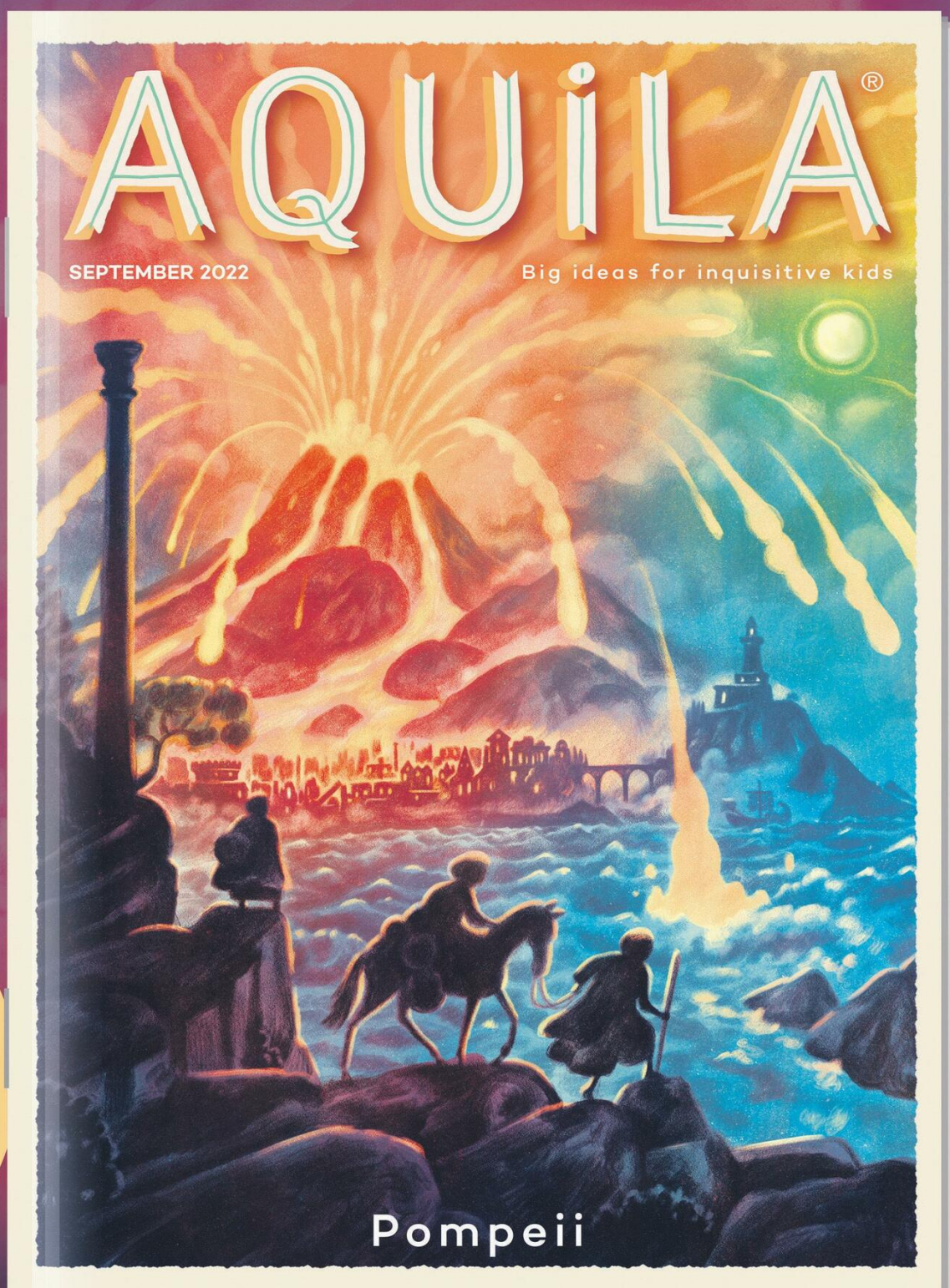
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Weather

Thursday 8 September 2022

UK and Ireland Noon today

Sunny

Mist

Fog

Sunny intervals

Hazy

Mostly cloudy

Overcast/dull

Sunny showers

Sunny and heavy showers

Light showers

Rain

Sleet

Light snow

Snow showers

Heavy snow

Ice

Thundery rain

Thundery showers

Temperature, °C

Wind speed, mph

Windy

35C

30

25

20

15

10

5

0

-5

-10

-15

-20

Forecast

Low **12** High **19**

Tomorrow

Low **13** High **20**

Saturday

Around the UK

London Lows and highs 14 20 Precipitation 90% Air pollution Low	Manchester 12 20 90% Low	Edinburgh 13 18 95% Low	Belfast 13 19 90% Low	Birmingham 12 20 90% Low	Brighton 14 19 85% Low	Bristol 14 19 100% Low	Cardiff 14 19 95% Low	Newcastle 12 17 90% Low	Penzance 15 18 95% Low
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Carbon count

Daily atmospheric CO₂ readings from Mauna Loa, Hawaii (ppm):

Latest	416.23
06 Sep 2022	416.23
Weekly average	
28 Aug 2022	416.54
07 Sep 2021	412.83
07 Sep 2012	392.02
Pre-industrial base	280
Safe level	350

Source: NOAA-ESRL

Atlantic front

Cold front

Warm front

Occluded front

Trough

High tides

Aberdeen	0006	3.9m	1253	4.1m
Avonmouth	0615	11.3m	1843	12.2m
Barrow	1038	8.3m	2258	8.8m
Belfast	1018	3.2m	2234	3.4m
Cobh	0418	3.6m	1652	3.8m
Cromer	0529	4.6m	1819	4.7m
Dover	1024	6.1m	2259	6.3m
Dublin	1059	3.8m	2303	4.0m
Galway	0419	4.6m	1635	5.0m
Greenock	--	--	1147	3.1m
Harwich	1044	3.6m	2318	3.9m
Holyhead	0941	5.1m	2152	5.5m
Hull	0503	6.7m	1756	7.0m
Leith	0117	5.0m	1400	5.3m
Liverpool	1024	8.5m	2241	9.0m

London Bridge	0021	6.4m	1302	6.2m
Lossiemouth	1113	3.9m	2318	4.0m
Milford Haven	0519	6.1m	1744	6.6m
Newquay	0413	6.2m	1637	6.6m
North Shields	0213	4.6m	1458	4.8m
Oban	0529	3.4m	1741	3.9m
Penzance	0347	4.9m	1609	5.3m
Plymouth	0451	4.8m	1709	5.2m
Portsmouth	1042	4.4m	2251	4.5m
Southport	0952	8.2m	2209	8.7m
Stornoway	0621	4.3m	1827	4.7m
Weymouth	0516	0.8m	1734	1.1m
Whitby	0246	5.1m	1530	5.3m
Wick	1045	3.2m	2249	3.4m
Workington	1047	7.5m	2304	7.9m

Sun & Moon

Sun rises 0623

Sun sets 1931

Moon rises 1919

Moon sets 0259

Full Moon 10 Sept

Forecasts and graphics provided by AccuWeather ©2022

Lighting up

Belfast	1959 to 0646
Birm'ham	1939 to 0631
Brighton	1931 to 0626
Bristol	1942 to 0636
Carlisle	1946 to 0632
Cork	2005 to 0659
Dublin	1958 to 0648
Glasgow	1954 to 0638
Harlech	1949 to 0640
Inverness	1955 to 0634
London	1931 to 0625
M'chester	1942 to 0632
Newcastle	1942 to 0628
Norwich	1927 to 0619
Penzance	1951 to 0649

Weatherwatch

Across the UK, autumn looks to have come early with leaves turning brown and falling during August's drought. But this apparent seasonal confusion is a defensive reaction to conserve water.

Leaves are the tree's lungs. They have tiny pores called stomata that take in carbon dioxide and exhale oxygen. The pores provide a large surface area that makes them efficient but can be a liability in hot, dry conditions because it increases moisture loss from evaporation.

A tree may respond by closing its pores. Sometimes this is enough, but even with pores closed the leaves continue to lose some water. Capillary action draws up more water from inside, and as the tree dehydrates air bubbles may be drawn into it. These can cause serious damage and death.

To prevent this, if dry conditions persist a tree may start to withdraw resources from its leaves so they turn brown and fall. Sometimes the whole tree is affected, although some species can sacrifice one branch while the rest stay green.

Drought-induced leaf fall is not in itself a catastrophe, but a sign of the effort plants are taking to stay alive. Longer, more severe droughts will increase tree mortality.

David Hambling

Around the world

Algiers	32	Lisbon	25
Ams'dam	20	Madrid	28
Athens	30	Malaga	31
Auckland	16	Melb'rne	17
B Aires	20	Mexico C	21
Bangkok	29	Miami	32
Barcelona	26	Milan	25
Basra	44	Mombasa	28
Beijing	33	Moscow	10
Berlin	22	Mumbai	30
Bermuda	28	N Orleans	28
Brussels	20	Nairobi	21
Budapest	30	New Delhi	37
C'hagen	19	New York	26
Cairo	33	Oslo	15
Cape Town	19	Paris	22
Chicago	27	Perth	18
Corfu	30	Prague	21
Dakar	30	Reykjavik	15
Dhaka	33	Rio de J	28
Dublin	17	Rome	29
Florence	27	Shanghai	31
Gibraltar	28	Singapore	30
H Kong	31	Stockh'm	13
Harare	26	Strasb'g	23
Helsinki	13	Sydney	20
Istanbul	26	Tel Aviv	31
Jo'burg	24	Tenerife	27
K Lumpur	32	Tokyo	27
K'mandu	27	Toronto	25
Kabul	31	Vancouv'r	20
Kingston	31	Vienna	28
Kolkata	33	Warsaw	22
L Angeles	37	Wash'ton	26
Lagos	28	Well'ton	12
Lima	16	Zurich	22

Golf

Civil war rages as players prepare for Wentworth

Page 43 →

Cricket

Hales welcomed back in T20 fold by Stokes

Page 42 →



Sport



▲ Harry Brook averages 107.44 in the County Championship this season and scored 140 in an England Lions innings last month
GARETH COPLEY/GETTY IMAGES

Bubbling Brook
Yorkshire batter offers middle-order brio and bravery for England's Bazball era

Mark Ramprakash



Jonny Bairstow's bizarre injury robs England of a key player for today's third Test against South Africa, but it also opens the door for someone else - and the gap in England's middle order will be filled by the massively promising Yorkshire batter Harry Brook. Brook's form in the early stages of this year's County Championship - after 12 innings in the competition he averages 107.44 - was so good that he has spent the entire summer as next in line for a Test place, and his chance has finally arrived, albeit nearly two months after he last played a first-class match. It is five years since I first met him, when I coached England's Under-19s on their 2017 tour of India, and as a result of what I saw then I have not been at all surprised by this success.

I remember one net in particular. Harry was in against the spinners and he was playing very confidently, using his feet very well, and he looked like he was enjoying himself. So I decided to challenge him and gave him a half bat, a training aid which is half the width of a normal bat. When you play one of these you have to be very precise with your footwork, and against spin you have to either get very close to the pitch of the ball or play off the back foot.

Harry, though, continued to play in exactly the same way - very aggressive, dancing down the wicket, hitting the ball back over the bowlers' heads. And while doing it he'd turn to me and grin as if to say: "I can still play my way even with your thin bat." And I was also grinning, because as a coach that is exactly the sort of character you want to see in a young player. He embraced the challenge not as a threat but

as an opportunity to show his skill, and to have fun. I remember seeing exactly this quality in a young Joe Root a few years earlier.

I have not worked with him since that tour, but of course I have noticed his scores - it has been hard not to. Traditionally, young players have earned international call-ups with runs in the County Championship; more recently some have been selected on the back of runs in Twenty20 or 50-over cricket. Brook has scored runs in every format. In T20s openers normally find it easier to catch the eye, facing the most balls, benefitting from having fewer fielders in the deep during the powerplay, and avoiding the periods towards the end of the innings when batters face more challenges, having to think more about fields and scoring options. The fact that Brook has scored runs in all formats and from the middle order shows his intelligence and versatility.

He has also played an amount of franchise cricket, for Hobart Hurricanes in the Big Bash and Lahore Qalandars in the Pakistan Super League. There is always pressure on overseas players in these tournaments, because if they are being picked ahead of local players they will be expected to perform. He's had a go at that and mixed in those circles, playing alongside elite international players, and has experienced those high-pressure moments and big crowds.

It is extremely difficult to succeed at both first-class and white-ball cricket. In the short formats a batter will be thrown into do-or-die situations, moments when they have no choice but to take risks. That contrasts with the traditional approach to Test cricket as played by some of England's best batters like Graham Gooch, Alastair Cook or Ian Bell. In red-ball cricket there will be times when you can afford to take a risk, but it is often better not to, and the decisions a batter is forced to make will be more in number and complexity. Sometimes short-format players can be unsure how to react to this blank canvas, and might also be thrown by unfamiliar field placements and spaces where they don't expect them to be. The approach the England team has taken this summer will make it easier for players to transition from short formats to Test cricket, but many of these problems remain.

The obvious difference between the formats is also the most awkward one to deal with: how to pace your innings - how fast should a player score, how much should they trust defence? The answers to those questions come with experience and matches, but for a tiny number of batters they will be instinctive. It may be that Brook is one of those, time will tell. His versatility will certainly be tested as he makes his debut having played only seven innings in August, all but one of them in the Hundred. It is promising that in the middle of that run he played for England Lions against South Africa in a four-day game and scored 140.

It looks like the first couple of days of this week's Test could be severely affected by rain, but the first two games were over within three days and anything is still possible. However the Test summer ends, it has been really encouraging for the England side and I was further encouraged on Monday when I went to The Grove in Hertfordshire for the Professional Cricketers' Association golf day, with the entire squad in attendance.

All the players seemed very relaxed in each other's company and the spirit between them was excellent. This was a day when the PCA put the players on display and gave their sponsors the chance to mix with them - not necessarily the kind of occasion sportspeople relish. But they were a credit to the game throughout, and showed the kind of togetherness that is a feature of the most successful squads. The only problem was that they are all excellent golfers who hit the ball a country mile.

For a tiny number of players pacing an innings is instinctive and it may be that Brook is one of those - time will tell

Sport

Cricket Third LV= Insurance Test



◀ England take a net session at the Oval yesterday in preparation for the deciding Test match
ANDREW BOYERS/
ACTION IMAGES/
REUTERS

England's ageless pace pair still hold the key

Brook will make his debut for hosts with South Africa set to renew four-man pace attack

Ali Martin
The Oval

And so to the Oval for a decider that will cap off an already memorable summer of Test cricket. England, reborn under Ben Stokes, could register their best home season for 18 years with a sixth win, while South Africa hope to reclaim the Basil D'Oliveira Trophy with what would be their third series win on these shores since readmission.

So far we have witnessed the two sides register a thumping innings victory apiece, the pendulum swinging from South Africa's storming of Lord's to Stokes powering his side to parity in Manchester. There have been just six days of cricket - just under, in fact - and so while the forecast is iffy, the draw still feels like an outside bet.

At the Oval there is a rich sense of history and in recent times plenty between the two teams, be it Devon Malcolm's nine-wicket display of shock and awe in 1994, Hashim Amla's masterful triple century in 2012 - the first by a South African - or the joyful scenes that followed Moeen Ali's hat-trick five years ago.

The ground has also seen a few titans head off into the sunset over the years, with Don Bradman, Viv Richards, Curtly Ambrose, Andrew Flintoff and Alastair Cook among them. Cook did it best, of course, practically ensuring his retirement would be irreversible with a farewell century against India in 2018 that had the crowd swooning.

But there is currently no sense of an impending swansong this week despite Jimmy Anderson recently entering his fifth decade and Stuart Broad's broadcasting talents being much coveted by Sky. Certainly Stokes does not anticipate a quiet word from either, not least with an Ashes series next summer that is done by the end of July. "I honestly just can't see a point where they decide it's time to step away," said the captain. "Jimmy has said how much fun he's had and Broady's influence in the dressing room is the best I've seen while playing with him over the years. The conversations he has had with the other bowlers is something he's taken to another level.

"It's great to see Jimmy at 40 and Broady at 36 having a new lease of life and honestly I can't tell you when the end will be. We've got the Ashes coming out next summer and I'm pretty sure they've got their eyes set on that but I'm not 100% sure."

Things could change - Broad, a dad-to-be, may well miss December's tour of Pakistan - but their current desire says plenty about the environment Stokes and Brendon McCullum have fostered as captain and coach. Neither seamer was in the Carib-

bean in March but the new regime has looked to wring every last wicket out of them, reverting to the basic principle of picking the best XI and not overthinking the future.

While two fine Test careers may not be drawing stumps just yet, a fresh one begins, with Yorkshire's Harry Brook the beneficiary of Jonny Bairstow's unfortunate accident on the golf course. The 23-year-old will slot in at No 5 and has already raided 140 runs for the Lions against South Africa, even if Dean Elgar was tipping a far tougher assignment when describing Test cricket as "the big league".

The same goes for England's XI as a whole, with South Africa's captain unlikely to make the same mistake twice. Instead he is likely to revert to the four-pronged pace attack that positively crackled at Lord's. This return for Marco Jansen, only slightly shorter than the Oval's neighbouring gas holder and able to swing the ball prodigiously from a left-arm angle, means pressure is unlikely to be released so easily this week.

That said, the tourists desperately need more from a batting lineup that has returned just one half-century thus far. Changes to the middle order are likely. Ryan Rickelton has been confirmed to replace Rassie van der Dussen, while Khaya Zondo, whose one Test to date was ended by Covid before facing a ball, is tipped to nudge out Aiden Markram after a baffling run of 15 innings without a 50.

As well as the chance to secure their first series victory on these shores since 2012 - and, criminally, the last for some time given no return visit is slated in the next cycle - the tourists also have the added incentive of furthering their chances of making next summer's World Test Championship final.

England are no-hopers in this regard, their prospects of reaching the final scuppered by the year of flatlining form that preceded the Stokes/McCullum axis. They can, however, continue their upward curve and their evolution as a side that is looking to be positive and not simply gung-ho.

"The whole nation has enjoyed watching us play because sometimes they don't know what they're going to get," said Stokes.

He's not wrong but given the ground, the occasion, two brittle teams and a pair of captains hell-bent on a victory at all costs, a decent finale looks in store regardless.

T20 dream

Stokes takes care to avoid a Hales storm

Simon Burnton
The Oval

Ben Stokes will have to overcome both South Africa and the late-summer weather if England are going to end his first summer as Test captain with a sixth victory in seven games at the Oval, but it is a fight he insists he is ready for.

The first two games of the series have ended with swift and emphatic results, each side claiming a win, and both captains pledged that the rain forecast across much of the first two days in south London would not dilute their focus on victory.

"If we do have a rain-affected game it will be interesting to see what goes on there," Stokes said, "because I know that we will be trying whatever we can to try and inflict a win. We don't play for draws. If we do lose a few days, I know what I'll be trying to do."

Stokes also insisted he and the recalled Alex Hales share a dream of winning the T20 World Cup as he dodged a question about their personal relationship. Hales's lengthy international exile is over after he replaced the injured Jonny Bairstow in Matthew Mott's squad for next month's tournament in Australia.

Stokes welcomed back Hales by describing him as "one of the best T20 players in the world" but gave short shrift to being quizzed on their association away from the field. "My goal, Alex's goal and everyone else's goal who is part of that squad is to win the World Cup," said Stokes, on the eve of England's Test decider against South Africa at the Kia Oval.

"Alex is definitely one of the best T20 players in the world and unfortunately with what happened with Jonny we had to call another player up. Alex is definitely one of the guys



Ben Stokes says England will do 'whatever we can to try and inflict a win'

that bowlers don't want to be bowling at in the T20 format."

South Africa's Dean Elgar, meanwhile, said this game was "pretty much like a World Cup final for us" and "the biggest so far in my captaincy". He still hopes to return to England next summer for the World Test Championship final, and knows victory would return them to the top of that competition's rankings.

"There's definitely going to be a winner in this Test, no doubt," he said. "We can't control the weather, but the styles of cricket that we've been playing, I'm pretty confident there will be a victory and there will be someone that loses this Test. It's huge, it's massive for us."

Both teams have been forced to change their batting line-up, with South Africa replacing Rassie van der Dussen, who has a broken finger, with Ryan Rickelton and England giving a debut to Harry Brook after Bairstow's freak golfing accident.

"The way he goes about his game, he's pretty much a like-for-like replacement," Stokes said. "It's devastating to not have Jonny but I'm very excited we get a replacement with the skill Jonny possesses."

"There's things that stand out about certain players, like the time they have, the shots they play. He's shown this summer the skill he has. The way he operates, the way he wants to dominate is very rare. He's a huge talent and he has to go out there and show everybody what he can do."

The day Harry Brook showed me he has got what it takes

Mark Ramprakash

Page 41 →

County Championship

Wells' ton gives Lancashire scent of Roses win

Tanya Aldred
Old Trafford

Luke Wells slammed a century off just 65 balls as Lancashire aimed for a declaration today at Old Trafford. Yorkshire looked all at sea as Wells took to his task with gusto, picking up and clattering two of sixes into the empty party stand, on his way to the second-fastest authentic Roses hundred.

Second-placed Hampshire lit the blue touchpaper taking 12 wickets in a day at the Rose Bowl, as Northamptonshire were forced to follow on. Barring an unlikely rear-

guard, they will leapfrog Surrey at the top of the table.

Hampshire's indefatigable opening duo did the damage, with Kyle Abbott and Keith Barker grabbing four wickets each.

At Canterbury, Sam Cook took six for 33, nine wickets in the match, to reduce Kent to 137 for eight following on; Gloucestershire plodded to a lead of 341 at Taunton, leaving Somerset an uneasy final day ahead.

In Division Two, Nottinghamshire duly beat Leicestershire, by 241 runs, despite a stoic 10th-wicket partnership of 83 between Callum Parkinson and Michael Finan - who made 58 on his first-class debut.

Shubman Gill cultured a glittering 92 on his Glamorgan debut on a soggy day at Sophia Gardens to set up an intriguing final day against Worcestershire; while three wickets for Durham's Ben Raine thwarted Derbyshire.

"The whole nation has enjoyed watching us play this summer"

Ben Stokes
England captain

Oval details

England

Confirmed

A Lees, Z Crawley, O Pope, J Root, H Brook, B Stokes (capt), B Foakes (wkt), S Broad, J Leach, O Robinson, J Anderson

Venue

Kia Oval

Start 11am

TV Sky Sports Cricket/

Main Event

South Africa

Possible

D Elgar (capt), S Erwee, K Petersen, R Rickelton, K Zondo, K Verreynne (wkt), M Jansen, K Maharaj, K Rabada, A Nortje, L Ngidi

Umpires N Menon (Ind) and R Kettleborough (Eng)

TV umpire C Gaffaney (NZ)

Referee R Madugalle (SL)

Weather

Today

Thunder and rain

Max 20C

Tomorrow

Cloudy, showers

Max 21C

Sat

Cloudy start

Max 22C

Sun

Cloudy all day

Max 22C

Mon

Cloudy all day

Max 23C

Over-by-over Follow our coverage live on the web - rain or shine
theguardian.com/cricket

Golf

LIV rebels accused of ‘propaganda’ war

Ewan Murray
Wentworth

As the dust settled on an extraordinary press conference by Keith Pelley, the European Tour Group’s chief executive, at Wentworth, Rory McIlroy admitted friendships had been ruined by defections to LIV Golf. An emboldened McIlroy took withering swipes at Sergio García, Lee Westwood, Ian Poulter and any LIV rebel who may contend at this weekend’s PGA Championship. Pelley had earlier castigated “the LIV propaganda machine”. Golf’s civil war shows no sign of abating.

McIlroy has been staunch in his defence of the PGA and DP World Tours against the Saudi-backed series, which now includes three of his Ryder Cup teammates. When asked whether his relationship with García, Poulter and Westwood can survive, McIlroy replied: “I don’t know. I have no idea. I wouldn’t say I’ve got much of a relationship with them at the minute. But if you’re just talking about Ryder Cup, that’s not the future of the Ryder Cup team. “I haven’t done anything different. They are the ones that have made that decision. I can sit here and keep my



▲ Rory McIlroy is unhappy with the LIV golfers’ participation this week

head held high and say I haven’t done anything differently.” McIlroy was deadpan when asked if there could be a route back to traditional tours for LIV converts. “They can always go through Q-School, yeah,” said the Northern Irishman. McIlroy reflected on the “novelty” of 15 LIV golfers appearing for a potential 72 holes at Wentworth given the three-day nature of their new domain. He was questioned whether there would be more incentive to win here should he find himself in final round battle with a LIV player. “I’ll be trying to win a golf tournament regardless,” said the 33-year-old. “They are going to be pretty tired on Sunday; it will be the fourth day.” Pelley has largely kept his own counsel on LIV matters. How that changed yesterday. Having hit out at

“irrational and ludicrous comments on social media” Pelley said: “As I said to our partners and sponsors on a Zoom call last week, it is easy to get dragged down by the LIV propaganda machine, churning out negative news stories and misinformation about the poor state of the traditional golfing world, including our tour. It’s just not right. And let me make this perfectly clear; nothing could be further from the truth. We are in excellent shape and set to get even stronger.” There have been suggestions Pelley walked away from a \$1bn deal to partner with the Saudis. “There’s only one word to describe that claim and that is ‘fictitious’,” added the chief executive. “You can ask any member of our board of directors, and they will unanimously confirm that it was not an offer, it was not a deal, it was merely a marketing presentation put together on behalf of Golf Saudi.” Pelley also took aim at García after the Spaniard had said the DP World Tour “is going to become the fifth best in the world”. “One of our members who is playing here this week actually said that,” he remarked. “It’s unbelievable. “Let’s look at the facts. If the metrics determining the top tours in the world is just money, then the No 1 tour is the PGA Tour. Always has been. You could argue that the LIV Invitational Series is No 2. But the Asian Tour, \$22.5m Korn Ferry, \$20m, Japan, \$28m, Australia, \$5.8m, Sunshine Tour, \$7.4m. Totalling all their prize funds together comes to just half of our tour. So even if the only metric is money, how possibly could we ever become No 5?”

Tennis *US Open*

Sabalenka in full flow to seal return to semis

Tumaini Carayol
Flushing Meadows

Under immense Arthur Ashe Stadium pressure and with a big opportunity for whoever was courageous enough to take it, Aryna Sabalenka’s destructive ball-striking was in full flow as she returned to the semi-final of the US Open for the second consecutive year, outplaying the former No 1 Karolina Pliskova 6-1, 7-6 (4).

As Ash Barty consolidated her dominance last year, for much of the season Sabalenka was right behind her, No 2 in the rankings, enjoying the best season of her career. After racking up WTA tour titles but falling badly at grand slams, she made back-to-back semi-finals at Wimbledon and the US Open, but she has never gone further.

Now endeavouring to take the next step in her career, it was the fifth seed Sabalenka who came out sharp and determined to rise to the occasion. She served well, crushing the ball and imbuing her every stroke with energy and vitality. As she thrived, Pliskova struggled badly. Pliskova finished a nightmare first set with one winner and 15 unforced errors, her only winner an ace.

Pliskova was much improved throughout the second set. But in the biggest moments, Sabalenka was unplayable. She played an incredible tie-break, demolishing the ball but also pairing her muscular, awesome power with delicate touches; dainty drop volleys, sweet lobs and one lovely drop shot in the tie-break.

Throughout this year, double faults have caked Sabalenka’s game but in seemingly every important moment, Sabalenka slammed down second serves over 100mph with ease. After striking 23 double faults in one match earlier this summer, on Ashe she struck three. She ended with one final moment of glory, a scene-stealing forehand return winner off a first serve to move on.

“I just tried to make her work for it and she played really well,” Sabalenka said on-court. “Somehow, I was able to handle this level and win this match.”

Sabalenka will face either the world No 1 Swiatek or US No 1 Jessica Pegula, the third best player of the season so far, in the semi-final. “It’s going to be tough and I’m ready for it,” said Sabalenka. “I’m ready for another fight.”



▲ Aryna Sabalenka celebrates her victory over Karolina Pliskova

Results			
Football			
UEFA CHAMPIONS LEAGUE			
Group A			
Ajax	(3) 4	Rangers	(0) 0
Álvarez 17, Berghuis 32 Kudus 34, Bergwijn 80			
52,862			
Napoli			
(3) 4	Liverpool	(0) 1	
Zielinski 5pen 47 Zambo 31, Simeone 44			
Díaz 49			
Group B			
Atlético Madrid	(0) L	Porto	(0) L
Hermoso 90 Uribe 90pen			
Club Brugge	(1) 1	Bayer Leverkusen	(0) 0
Sylla 42			
Group C			
Barcelona	(3) 5	Pizen	(1) 1
Kessli 13 Lewandowski 34 45 67 Torres 71			
5ykora 44			
Internazionale			
(0) 0	Bayern Munich	(1) 2	
Sané 25 D'Ambrosio 66og			
Group D			
Eintracht Frankfurt	(0) 0	Sporting Lisbon	(0) 3
Edwards 65, Trincão 67 Santos 82			
50,500			
Tottenham	(0) 2	Marseille	(0) 0
Richarlison 76 81			
Tennis			
US OPEN (Flushing Meadows, New York)			
Men: Singles: Quarter-final: K KHACHANOV (Rus, 27) bt N KYRGIOS (Aus, 23) 7-5 4-6 7-5 6-7 (3-7) 6-4; F TIAFOE (US, 22) bt A RUBLEV (Rus, 9) 7-6 (7-3) 7-6 (7-0) 6-4			
Women: Singles: Quarter-finals: A SABALENKA (Blr, 6) bt K PLISKOVA (Cz, 22) 6-1 7-6 (7-4); C GARCIA (Fr, 17) bt C GAUFF (US, 12) 6-3 6-4			
Men: Doubles: Quarter-final: J CABAL & R FARAH (Col, 13) bt L GLASSPOOL & H HELIOVAARA (GB/Fin, 11) 7-5 (7-5) 6-2			
Women: Doubles: Quarter-finals: K SINIAKOVA & B KREJCIKOVA (Cz/Cz, 3) bt G OLMOS & G DABROWSKI (Mex/Can, 5) 6-3 6-7 (4-7) 6-3; S SANDERS BT C DOLEHIDE (Aus/US, 12) bt C GARCIA & K MLADENOVIC (Fr/Fr, 14) 6-3 6-3			
Cricket			
ASIA CUP			
Super Four Sharjah Afghanistan 129-6. Pakistan 131-9. Pakistan beat Afghanistan by one wicket.			
LV= INSURANCE COUNTY CHAMPIONSHIP			
Division One (third day of four)			

Hampshire v Northamptonshire	
Ageas Bowl Northamptonshire (3pts) trail Hampshire (8) by 72 runs with seven first-innings wickets remaining.	
Hampshire First innings 400-9 dec (AHT Donald 94, FS Organ 71, KJ Abbott 57 no).	
Northamptonshire First innings (overnight 77-1)	
EN Gay c Organ b Barker	33
L Procter c Donald b Fuller	40
JJ Cobb c Holland b Barker	2
RI Keogh c Donald b Abbott	0
†R Vasconcelos c Dawson b Mohammad Abbas	9
JJ G Sales b Barker	10
TAI Taylor c Donald b Fuller	17
LB Williams c Holland b Abbott	2
BW Sanderson b Abbott	5
CJ White not out	6
Extras (b5, lb3, nb16)	24
Total (64 overs)	175
Fall 80, 94, 95, 107, 124, 153, 164, 164. Bowling	
Barker 21-6-41-3; Mohammad Abbas 16-4-49-1; Abbott 19-4-52-4; Dawson 2-1-0-0; Holland 3-1-6-0; Fuller 3-0-18-2.	
Northamptonshire Second innings	
EN Gay lbw b Fuller	74
*WA Young c Donald b Holland	20
L Procter c Donald b Barker	19
JJ Cobb not out	13
RI Keogh not out	10
Extras (b7, lb3, w1, nb6)	17
Total (for 3, 43 overs)	153
Fall 98, 130, 137. To bat †R Vasconcelos, JJG Sales, TAI Taylor, BW Sanderson, CJ White, LB Williams. Bowling	
Barker 11-1-34-1; Abbott 4-2-15-0; Fuller 9-1-32-1; Holland 7-2-29-1; Abbas 6-1-13-0; Dawson 6-0-20-0.	
Kent v Essex	
Canterbury Kent (1pt) trail Essex (7) by 272 runs with two second-innings wickets remaining.	
Essex First innings 573 (FIN Khushi 164, MJJ Critchley 90, AN Cook 78, T Westley 54, BMJ Allison 53).	
Kent First innings (overnight 74-4)	
JA Leaning c Khushi b SJ Cook	34
JM Cox b Allison	34
*†SW Billings c Rossington b Allison	0
G Stewart c Rossington b Allison	2
HW Podmore c Rossington b Allison	13
ME Milnes not out	11
MR Quinn b Snater	7
Extras (lb6, nb12)	18
Total (50.2 overs)	164
Fall 105, 108, 120, 134, 145. Bowling	
Porter 12-1-49-2; SJ Cook 15-5-27-3; Snater 11.2-2-42-1; Allison 12-0-40-4.	
Kent Second innings	
OG Robinson c Rossington b SJ Cook	15
BG Compton c Critchley b SJ Cook	7
DJ Bell-Drummond c Rossington b SJ Cook	0
JL Denly c Browne b SJ Cook	24
JA Leaning c Critchley b SJ Cook	0
JM Cox not out	53
G Stewart c Browne b SJ Cook	6
HW Podmore b Porter	10
*†SW Billings c Westley b Porter	0
ME Milnes not out	12
Extras (lb2, w4, nb4)	10
Total (for 8, 57 overs)	137

Fall 19, 23, 30, 33, 53, 68, 105, 107. To bat MR Quinn.	
Bowling Porter 12-2-38-2; SJ Cook 16-6-33-6; Snater 14-5-27-0; Allison 8-1-20-0; Critchley 7-3-17-0.	
Lancashire v Yorkshire	
Old Trafford Lancashire (5pts) lead Yorkshire (5) by 224 runs with seven second-innings wickets remaining.	
Lancashire First innings 276 (KK Jennings 119, LWP Wells 84; GCH Hill 6-26).	
Yorkshire First innings (overnight 130-4)	
T Kohler-Cadmire c Hartley b Parkinson	51
*†JA Tattersall c Lavelle b Williams	26
MJ Waite c Lavelle b Bailey	3
MD Bess c Balderson b Bailey	27
JA Thompson c Vilas b Bailey	4
BO Coad c Croft b Parkinson	26
SA Patterson not out	14
Extras (b2, lb8, nb4)	14
Total (105.3 overs)	255
Fall 154, 159, 199, 206, 219. Bowling	
Bailey 24-8-56-4; Williams 27-8-64-3; Balderson 15-5-44-0; Parkinson 18.3-4-52-3; Hartley 21-8-29-0.	
Lancashire Second innings	
LWP Wells c Fraine b Bess	124
KK Jennings c Coad b Tattersall	68
JJ Bohannon st Kohler-Cadmire b Bess	5
SJ Croft not out	3
*DJ Vilas not out	1
Extras (lb1, w1)	2
Total (for 3, 33 overs)	203
Fall 186, 196, 202. To bat GP Balderson, †GID Lavelle, TW Hartley, WSA Williams, TE Bailey, MW Parkinson.	
Bowling Coad 6-0-26-0; Thompson 5-0-40-0; Patterson 7-0-36-0; Bess 8-1-49-2; Waite 3-0-22-0; Hill 3-0-22-0; Tattersall 1-0-1-0.	
Somerset v Gloucestershire	
Taunton Gloucestershire (6pts) lead Somerset (4) by 341 runs with five second-innings wickets remaining.	
Gloucestershire First innings 343 (MS Harris 159, B Charlesworth 56, OJ Price 52; L Gregory 4-62).	
Somerset First innings (overnight 209-8)	
*†JED Rew not out	44
Sajid Khan c Bracey b Payne	16
JA Brooks c Harris b TJ Price	21
Extras (lb2, w2, nb10)	14
Total (81.3 overs)	248
Fall 142 213. Bowling	
Payne 21-2-52-2; Dale 15-3-50-2; Shaw 14-3-48-1; TJ Price 21.3-5-75-5; Van Buuren 9-0-17-0; OJ Price 2-1-1-0; Taylor 1-0-3-0.	
Gloucestershire Second innings	
B Charlesworth c Gregory b Lammonby	64
MS Harris b Davey	21
OJ Price c Gregory b Khan	53
MAH Hammond c Gregory b Khan	53
†JR Bracey c b Aldridge	11
*†G van Buuren not out	19
JMR Taylor not out	6
Extras (b7, nb12)	19
Total (for 5, 92 overs)	246
Fall 35, 124, 192, 218, 238. To bat TJ Price, J Shaw, AS Dale, DA Payne. Bowling	
Gregory 13-2-59-0; Davey 12-5-22-1; Brooks 11-3-29-0; Khan 34-9-69-2; Aldridge 12-0-46-1; Lammonby 10-3-14-1.	

Division Two (third day of four)	
Derbyshire v Durham	
Derby Derbyshire (6pts) lead Durham (4) by 268 runs with three second-innings wickets remaining.	
Derbyshire First innings 306 (JL du Plooy 82, HRC Came 78, Anuj Dal 56).	
Durham First innings (overnight 222-9)	
OJ Gibson c Godleman b Connors	0
C Rushworth not out	1
Extras (b6, lb4, w1, nb4)	15
Total (79 overs)	223
Fall 222. Bowling	
Connors 16-3-55-4; Aitchison 24-6-49-2; Potts 9-1-39-1; Reece 10-2-33-0; Dal 10-3-18-2; Watt 10-3-19-0.	
Derbyshire Second innings	
LM Reece c Mackintosh b Raine	39
*BA Godleman lbw b Raine	43
†BD Guest c Coughlin b Trevaskis	8
WL Madsen c Mackintosh b Raine	58
JL du Plooy c Maddinson b Trevaskis	1
HRC Came c Dickson b Trevaskis	6
Anuj Dal not out	9
MRJ Watt c Maddinson b Coughlin	1
B Aitchison not out	16
Extras (b1, lb1, nb2)	4
Total (for 7, 72 overs)	185
Fall 50, 59, 147, 150, 152, 158, 161. To bat N Potts, S Connors. Bowling	
Rushworth 3-0-12-0; Raine 18-5-24-3; Gibson 10-2-25-0; Coughlin 13-3-34-1; Trevaskis 24-4-71-3; Borthwick 4-0-17-0.	
Glamorgan v Worcestershire	
Swalec Stadium Glamorgan (2) trail Worcestershire (3) by 213 runs with two first-innings wickets remaining.	
Worcestershire First innings 454-9 dec (GH Roderick 172 no, J Leach 87, E Barnard 75, EJ Pollock 54; T van der Gugten 4-81).	
Glamorgan First innings (overnight 111-2)	
*DL Lloyd c Haynes b Gibbon	4
EJ Byrom c Cox b Gibbon	67
S Gill lbw b Barnard	92
T van der Gugten c Cox b Leach	18
SA Northeast b Pennington	10
KS Carlson c Pollock b Pennington	0
WT Root lbw b Gibbon	15
†CB Cooke not out	21
JAR Harris b Pennington	5
Extras (b1, lb2, nb6)	9
Total (for 8, 75.2 overs)	241
Fall 132, 146, 146, 189, 230, 241. To bat AY Patel, M G Hogan. Bowling	
Leach 19-2-63-1; Gibbon 19-3-65-3; Pennington 19.2-3-62-3; Barnard 16-3-45-1; D'Oliveira 2-1-3-0.	
Nottinghamshire v Leicestershire	
Trent Bridge Nottinghamshire (20pts) beat Leicestershire (3) by 241 runs.	
Nottinghamshire First innings 201.	
Leicestershire First innings 93 (ST Evans 50 no; LJ Fletcher 4-23).	
Nottinghamshire Second innings 390-7 dec (JM Clarke 67, LW James 61, Haseeb Hameed 60).	
Leicestershire Second innings (overnight 20-0)	
ST Evans c Moores b Paterson	18
Hassan Azad lbw b Mullaney	35

L Kimber c Fletcher b Mullaney	16
CN Ackermann lbw b Mullaney	9
RK Patel c Patterson-White b Fletcher	7
†H Swindells c Patterson-White b Paterson	7
E Barnes c Hameed b Hutton	37
RI Walker c James b Hutton	18
*CF Parkinson not out	26
CJC Wright c Moores b Hutton	4
M Finan c Montgomery b Paterson	58
Extras (b4, lb6, nb12)	22
Total (84.4 overs)	257
Fall 34, 82, 91, 94, 102, 121, 169, 170, 174. Bowling	
Fletcher 18-5-48-1; Hutton 20-8-51-3; Paterson 21.4-5-92-3; Patterson-White 14-5-27-0; Mullaney 11-3-29-3.	
Fixtures	
Football (8pm unless stated)	
Uefa Europa League A PSV v Bodø/Glimt (5.45pm); Zürich v Arsenal (5.45pm). B AEK v Rennes (5.45pm); Fenerbahce v Dynamo Kyiv (5.45pm). C HJK v Real Betis (5.45pm); Ludogorets v Roma (5.45pm). D Union Berlin v USG (5.45pm); Malmö v Braga (5.45pm). E Man Utd v Real Sociedad; Omnia v Sheriff. F Lazio v Feyenoord; Sturm Graz v Midtjylland. G Nantes v Olympiakos; Freiburg v Qarabag. H Red Star Belgrade v Monaco; Ferencvárosi v Trabzonspor	
Uefa Europa Conference A Fiorentina v RFS (5.45pm); Hearts v I Basaksehir (5.45pm). B Anderlecht v Silkeborg (5.45pm); West Ham v FCSB. C Austria Vienna v Hapoel Be'er Sheva (5.45pm); Villarreal v Lech Poznan (5.45pm). D Nice v Köln (5.45pm); Slovacov v Partizan (5.45pm). E Dnipro v AZ; Vaduz v Apollon. F Molde v Gent; Shamrock v Djurgårdens. G Ballkani v CFR Cluj (5.45pm); Sivasspor v S Prague. H Basel v Pyunik; Slovan Bratislava v Zalgiris	
Rugby union	
Premiership Cup Northampton v Saracens (7.45pm)	
Cricket (11am unless stated)	
Third Test (fifth day of five) England v South Africa, The Oval	
Second ODI Australia v New Zealand, Cairns (5.20am)	
Third Women's T20I Scotland v Ireland, The Grange	
Asia Cup Super Four India v Afghanistan, Dubai (3pm)	
Greg Wood's racing tips	
Epsom 1.05 American Belle 1.40 Arctician 2.15 Thibault 2.50 Semser 3.25 Away Wit Da Fairys 4.00 Maysong 4.35 Mount Kosciuszko Doncaster 1.25 Cathy Come Home (nap) 2.00 Waiting All Night 2.35 Dance In The Grass (nb) 3.10 Eshaada 3.45 Admiral D 4.20 Adayar 4.55 Cottam Lane 5.28 Little Muddy Chepstow 1.50 Destiny's Spirit 2.25 Majestic Newlaw 3.00 Conquest Of Power 3.35 Racingbreaks Ryde r 4.10 Hundon 4.45 Willingly 5.15 Shesadabber Chelmsford 5.05 Quick Fling 5.35 Imperial Dream 6.05 Breach 6.35 Plastic Paddy 7.05 Phantasy Mac 7.35 Manettino 8.05 Agent Of Fortune Southwell 5.45 Prydwen 6.15 Sanitiser 6.45 Poet's Dawn 7.15 Swiss Ace 7.45 The Lamplighter 8.15 New Hope Bullet 8.45 The Bell Conductor	

Sport

Football Champions League

In brief

Brighton

Rail strike forces Palace game postponement

Brighton's home Premier League game against Crystal Palace on 17 September has been postponed because of the planned rail strike. The Premier League said the decision followed "exceptional circumstances" related to the upcoming industrial action, which left authorities unable to sanction the fixture to be played with no public transport available for supporters. A statement from the governing body read: "The Premier League has consulted with both clubs, police, the Safety Advisory Group for Brighton & Hove City Council and other relevant authorities in exploring alternative plans but all have agreed there was no other option but to postpone the fixture." **PA Media**

Arsenal

Arteta focused on ending the drought

Mikel Arteta wants Arsenal to end nearly three decades of continental disappointment by winning this season's Europa League, which they begin in Switzerland against FC Zurich. Arsenal's only two European trophies to date are the 1969-70 Inter-Cities Fairs Cup and the 1993-94 Cup Winners' Cup. While a return to Thursday night football could be viewed as a distraction given Arteta's team top the nascent Premier League table, he is hungry to break the hex over the coming eight months. "That's a long time," he said of the wait for more European success. "We would like to be the first one to break that negative record but you have to start somewhere and it starts by playing well and earning the right to win the match." **Nick Ames**

Wolves

Costa gets green light for Molineux move

Wolves are poised to sign Diego Costa until the end of the season after the striker was granted a work permit on appeal. A Football Association panel overturned the decision to deny the former Chelsea forward the right to play in England. Costa's move is subject to a medical. **Ben Fisher**



Mikel Arteta's side will take on FC Zurich in Europe tonight



From bad to worse in Italy

Napoli surge ahead as Giovanni Simeone scores his side's third goal in the thrashing of Liverpool

SSC NAPOLI VIA GETTY IMAGES

Zielinski and Zambo Anguissa tear sorry Liverpool to shreds

Napoli 4

Zielinski 5pen 47, Zambo Anguissa 31, Simeone 44

Liverpool 1

Díaz 49

Andy Hunter

Diego Armando Maradona Stadium

A rupture occurred in the shadow of Mount Vesuvius. It was Liverpool, ripped apart and destroyed by Napoli on a humiliating night when Jürgen Klopp's team resembled Champions League novices rather than seasoned finalists from three of the past five years.

One of Liverpool's heaviest European defeats was the deserved end product of arguably the worst European performance of Klopp's near seven-year reign. Certainly, it is hard to think of a rival for that unwanted accolade. The visitors were torn open from the outset as their winless streak in Naples continued, but in far more alarming fashion than their last two group stage defeats here under Klopp.

Klopp stated before kick-off that he wanted Liverpool to extinguish the emotion and aggression that Napoli feed off inside their stadium through football principles and compact defending. His players never got the memo. They poured oil on the incendiary atmosphere inside Stadio Diego Armando Maradona instead with a passive, chaotic performance in which their defence was shredded time and again. By the time Andre-Frank Zambo Anguissa doubled Napoli's lead in the 31st minute it could easily have been 5-0 to

Luciano Spalletti's vibrant side. The hosts sliced through at will in the first half. Liverpool, abysmal from back to front, offered little resistance.

Klopp's instructions were almost redundant after merely 42 seconds. Amir Rrahmani and Stanislav Lobotka brought the ball out of defence with casual ease before Giovanni Di Lorenzo's pass sent Victor Osimhen racing into a 50-50 with Alisson. The pacy striker got there first but swept a shot from a tight angle against the outside of a post.

Osimhen had almost been played through again before the home side took a deserved fifth minute lead from the penalty spot. Khvicha Kvaratskhelia, or Kvaradona as the Georgian has been christened following his explosive start to life in Naples, teed up Piotr Zielinski on the edge of the area for a shot that deflected just wide of Alisson's goal. It was deflected via the outstretched hand of James Milner, Liverpool's captain for the night, and Zielinski sent Alisson the wrong way from the resulting, clear penalty.

Napoli were awarded a second

penalty when VAR advised Spanish referee Carlos Del Cerro Grande to revisit a challenge by Virgil van Dijk on Osimhen. Play had continued after the striker's failed attempt to turn inside the Liverpool defender but, on his pitch-side monitor, the referee spotted contact between Van Dijk and Osimhen's right foot. Osimhen, not Zielinski, took the second spot kick and in the same direction as the first. Alisson sprang to his right to make a fine save.

Yet it got worse after the penalty miss. Kvaratskhelia embarrassed Fabinho by turning him three times in the same move inside the centre circle. Osimhen dispossessed the dawdling Joe Gomez to advance into the penalty area where Kvaratskhelia stood unmarked. The pass to the 21-year-old was delayed and poor, however, giving van Dijk opportunity to clear his eventual shot off the goalline.

It was soon two when Gomez was dispossessed again, this time by Kvaratskhelia. Zambo Anguissa exchanged passes with Zielinski and strolled into the area without meet-

ing a challenge before beating Alisson with a cool finish. It was his first Napoli goal.

It was not the end of Liverpool's torment. As bad as Klopp's team were, and their problems were not confined to defence with Mohamed Salah struggling to control even the most routine of passes, they created enough openings to have punctured Napoli's mood. Goalkeeper Alex Meret tipped over from a Trent Alexander-Arnold free-kick and saved well from a Van Dijk header.

Liverpool appeared to have been granted relief when Osimhen limped off injured minutes before the break only for his replacement, Giovanni Simeone, to score Napoli's third with one of his first touches. Gomez's dreadful night continued when he was out-manoeuvred and out-fought by the superb Kvaratskhelia near the by-line. The Georgian centred low for Diego Simeone's son to convert a simple tap-in.

Gomez was unsurprisingly hooked at half-time and replaced by Joël Matip. But the rout rolled on. Within two minutes of the restart Simeone found Zielinski sprinting into the Liverpool area unmarked and, although the playmaker's shot was parried by Alisson, he dinked the rebound in over the keeper.

Luis Díaz reduced the deficit in style when he cut in from the left and beat Meret with an emphatic finish into the far corner. Liverpool may have controlled the closing stages but they had been comprehensively beaten in the sweltering Italian heat, outclassed and humiliated by a team that wanted victory more.



◀ Jürgen Klopp turns away in disgust after Liverpool concede a third goal during their dismal defeat

NIGEL KEENE/ PROSPORTS/ SHUTTERSTOCK

Napoli

4-2-3-1

Meret; Di Lorenzo, Rrahmani, Kim, Olivera (Mário Rui 74); Zambo Anguissa, Lobotka; Politano (Lozano 58), Zielinski (Elmas 74), Kvaratskhelia (Zerbin 57); Osimhen (Simeone 41)

Liverpool

4-3-3

Alisson; Alexander-Arnold, Gomez (Matip 45), van Dijk, Robertson; Elliott (Arthur 77), Fabinho, Milner (Thiago Alcántara 63) Salah (Jota 63), Firmino (Núñez 62), Díaz

Referee Carlos Del Cerro Grande (Spa)

Richarlison strikes at the double to give Spurs winning start

Tottenham	2
Richarlison 76 81	
Marseille	0

David Hytner
Tottenham Hotspur Stadium

There was the obligatory pre-match footage of Lucas Moura’s winner at Ajax and then the declaration on the big screen at Tottenham’s magnificent stadium, one that is built to stage these kind of Champions League nights. “We’re back.”

For so long, it appeared that the grand return after a two-season absence would fall flat, even when Marseille were reduced to ten men in the 47th minute following Chancel Mbemba’s last-man foul on Son Heung-min. It was a dreadful misjudgment by the former Newcastle centre-half. Spurs were labouring sorely to create against the Ligue 1 runners-up from last season.

Enter Richarlison. The £50m summer signing from Everton had not previously found the net for Spurs but he changed all that with a devastating one-two punch late on. Both of the goals were headers, marked by thumping power, and the home crowd could reflect that all was well when it ended like this.

Marseille had been dogged but when Ivan Perisic shaped a cross from the left and Richarlison started to drift into a seam of space, they

switched off. The second one was even more devastating, Richarlison getting the better of Samuel Gigot to crash home from Pierre-Emile Højbjerg’s cross and Spurs were firmly up and running.

Tottenham’s previous Champions League tie had been the last-16 second-leg defeat at RB Leipzig in March 2020. It was a dispiriting night, with José Mourinho’s injury-hit team always feeling destined to go out, and there was a stark contrast in the pre-match optimism here, the surge of noise and energy at kick-off time.

Antonio Conte was not supposed to have returned Spurs to Europe’s elite competition, not after taking over last November with the team struggling following Nuno Espírito Santo’s tenure. The manager has made believers of the Spurs support and the idea was that Marseille would be the latest obstacle cleared.

Conte went strong with his starting XI. Forget the fixture congestion. This was the only game that mattered. He strained at the leash at the outset – wandering out of his technical area and giving the fourth official who highlighted the transgression short shrift. There was an undercurrent to the action. Harry Kane caught Pau López with a stray arm midway through the first half, bloodying the eye of the one-time Spurs goalkeeper.

There was intrigue in so much of the narrative, so many connections, from Conte’s friendship with the Marseille manager, Igor Tudor – they are former Juventus teammates – to the



▼ Richarlison celebrates after scoring Tottenham’s first goal with a powerful header
DAVID KLEIN/REUTERS

visitors having 12 players with past or current links to Premier League clubs. Eleven of them were in the match-day squad.

The odd man out? The suspended Alexis Sánchez. The Spurs support contented themselves with booing Matteo Guendouzi, the former Arsenal midfielder, lustily and, to a lesser extent, Nuno Tavares, who is on loan from their north London rivals.

Marseille settled quickly, Guendouzi prominent, their passing rhythms smooth, Tudor’s organisation evident. Spurs wanted to pinch possession and transition but they could get little going before the interval. Marseille dictated the tempo, Gerson one of the symbols of their composure. Spurs struggled to muster pressure on the ball and they needed Hugo Lloris to beat out

a low Guendouzi drive on 45 minutes.

Kane dropped deep to link Spurs’ play but it was thin gruel in the first half. The responsibility on him was heavy. Kane jinked inside from the right in the 34th minute only to see Tavares block his shot and, shortly afterwards, he had a slightly clearer opening, even if it was still not that clear. Fed by Son Heung-min on the right-hand side of the area, he was confronted by Eric Bailly. Kane dragged it well wide of the far post.

Conte sent his players out minutes before those of Marseille for the second half – always a tell that it has not been good enough – and he watched the shape of the game change with the red card.

Finally, Kane got Son away into space and, having given Mbemba a head start, the Spurs forward gobbled up the ground. Mbemba lunged with his wrong foot, the tackle was mistimed, too, and, when Son went down, the referee, Slavko Vincic, had only one decision to make.

Tudor kept his wing-back system, pulled Guendouzi back into a mid-field three and asked Spurs to break his team down. Conte introduced Dejan Kulusevski at right wing-back, seeking greater punch, and the Swede flickered, getting around the back of the Marseille defence and then seeing a shot deflect off target.

Sead Kolasinac, another ex-Arsenal player, on as a substitute, almost teed up his fellow replacement, Amine Harit, on 75 minutes before Richarlison made his play for the headlines.

Tottenham 3-4-3 Lloris; Romero (Tanganga 73), Dier, Lenglet (Davies 73), Emerson (Kulusevski 61), Bentancur (Bissouma 86), Højbjerg, Perisic; Richarlison, Kane, Son (Doherty 86)	Marseille 3-4-2-1 Lopez; Mbemba, Bailly, Gigot (Under 87); Clauss (Kolasinac 70), Rongier, Veretout (Gueye 87), Tavares; Gerson (Balerdi 50), Guendouzi; Suárez (Harit 71)
Referee S Vincic (Slovenia)	

Rangers ripped apart by Ajax on chastening return to elite

Ajax	4
Álvarez 17, Berghuis 32, Kudus 33, Bergwijn 80	
Rangers	0

Jamie Jackson
Johan Cruyff Arena

Where Rangers go from here in a Group A that also features Napoli and Liverpool may not be pretty. This was an ugly display featuring a defence that failed to defend and a sieve-like midfield that was an open invitation for Ajax to execute their clever pass-and-move play.

At the break the Dutch champions had enjoyed 74% of the possession. If there was a number to rate the invention of their opponents then zero would not have been unfair on Rangers, whose manager, Giovanni van Bronckhorst, seemed to have

instructed them to sit as far back as possible and hope that they could somehow conjure a goal.

As the final whistle neared, Van Bronckhorst had to endure the Ajax faithful gleefully sing, “Gio, take your garbage home,” their delight surely enhanced by him being a former Feyenoord player. This was a second 4-0 reverse on the bounce, following Saturday’s humiliation at Celtic.

“It’s eight goals [allowed] in two games – too much for Rangers, that can never happen,” a sombre Van Bronckhorst said. “You can lose a game but not with so much difference. The level we reached in the first half is not the level needed to be competitive in the Champions League – there was a difference in passing, movement, thinking.”

Had Van Bronckhorst given his charges a roasting at the interval? The way they continued to stand off Ajax suggested not. At this juncture three changes were made – Rabbi Matonda, Ryan Jack and Leon King for James Tavernier, Scott Wright and Malik Tillman as the manager shifted to a novel 5-2-3 shape. But even when Borna Barisic did find Ajax’s net later on VAR ruled (correctly) that Ryan Kent was offside.

Rangers had understood how Alfred Schreuder’s men hoped to prosper from the start: have Daley

Blind or Devyne Rensch feed balls to Steven Bergwijn and Dusan Tadic further along the full-backs’ flanks and hit Mohammed Kudus, the front-man, or a midfield runner. Factor in another Steven – Berghuis – dropping into pockets and Ajax were operating as their storied pedigree demands.

Berghuis created Ajax’s opener from a more conventional mode by delivering a corner from the right that peppered Jon McLaughlin’s goal: James Sands failed to pick up Edson Álvarez and he rose under no pressure to head home.

This, 17 minutes in, was the opening calamity for Rangers and spoke of a team still reeling from the Celtic trouncing. Already it was a mismatch. Even when Rangers launched a foray Wright, running in from wide, could not stab a toe at a cross with Remko Pasveer’s goal gaping. The Ajax team were as vibrant as Johan Cruyff Arena had been when transformed into the flag-waving cauldron that greeted Rangers’ ending of a 12-year absence from this stage of the competition.

Schreuder was soon celebrating again. Kudus passed to Berghuis and his effort beat McLaughlin via a ricochet off Sands – a midfielder asked to fill in at centre-back. Moments later Kudus engineered a supreme solo effort, collecting on the left, twisting

and surging forward, by-passing Tavernier, the Rangers captain, as if he were a schoolboy, before hammering in off the far post. This was game over with 11 minutes left of the opening half and Ajax continued to coast despite a summer talent-drain headlined by Antony’s €95m move to Manchester United.

Rangers lack of defiance pointed to Van Bronckhorst, strangely, being unable to rouse his troops despite this being a glamour occasion against one of the continent’s A-list names. In the closing phase Kudus went close to weaving through to score with a memorable finish before a last-ditch challenge stymied the 22-year-old Ghanian. With 10 minutes left Bergwijn latched on to Jack’s sloppy back-pass to give Rangers a second, humiliating reverse on the bounce.

Van Bronckhorst said: “I told the players [afterwards], ‘Welcome to the Champions League – this is the level you have to reach.’”

Ajax 4-3-3 Pasveer; Rensch, Timber, Bassey, Blind (Baas 81); Berghuis (Klaasen 81), Álvarez (Sánchez 88), Taylor; Tadic, Kudus (Brobbey 88), Bergwijn (Ocampos, 81)	Rangers 4-2-3-1 McLaughlin; Tavernier (King ht), Goldson, Sands, Barisic; Tillman (Jack ht), Lundstram; Wright (Matondo ht), Kamara (Davis 76), Kent; Colak
Referee Tobias Stieler (Ger) Attendance 52,862	

City forced to sell after Barça make record fourth bid

Continued from back page

suit of Walsh began earlier this year, having been a long-term admirer of the defensive midfielder.

Her impressive Euros campaign only confirmed the Barcelona coach Jonatan Giráldez’s view that Walsh would be the No 1 transfer priority.

Giráldez watched Walsh play for City in August as Real knocked out Gareth Taylor’s side in the first qualifying round of the Champions League. City were adamant – after three bids were lodged – that their player was not for sale but the fourth, at just over £400,000, could not be ignored and Walsh will now be unveiled by Barcelona this week.

Walsh, who won the 2016 WSL title, three FA Cups and four League Cups during her eight-year spell with City, earned her 50th England cap in Tuesday’s 10-0 win over Luxembourg in Stoke. She was named player of the match after the momentous 2-1 extra-time final win over Germany.

She also played for Team GB at the Tokyo Olympics in 2021.

Sport

Football Premier League

Timeline

How manager won, and lost, his place in 'the Chelsea family'



Unveiling

On 26 January 2021 Tuchel becomes Roman Abramovich's 11th permanent manager, replacing the sacked Frank Lampard. "It feels amazing. I am grateful to

be part of the Chelsea family." Director Marina Granovskaia says: "We are happy to secure one of Europe's best coaches. There is much to play for and much to achieve."

2020-21

Tuchel's quick tactical fix earns a 14-game unbeaten run on the way to a fourth-place finish - up from ninth when he took over. He loses the FA Cup final

to Leicester, but delivers Champions League glory with victory over Manchester City. Soon after he signs an extended deal. "There is far more to come

from us," he says. "We all look forward with ambition." Granovskaia adds: "Thomas has become an integral part of the Chelsea family. We could not be happier."



2021-22

Starts his first full season by re-signing Romelu Lukaku for a club record

£97.5m. Wins the Super Cup and the Club World Cup and seals a third-place league finish - but loses the EFL and FA Cup finals to Liverpool, both on penalties, and

has a bruising quarter-final Champions League exit to Real Madrid. Tuchel slams the referee for "smiling and laughing" and "having a good time" with Carlo Ancelotti.

Out of the blue: Tuchel's strange sacking only makes sense if you are in charge of Chelsea

The abrupt dismissal of a manager after a big transfer splurge is what we have come to expect at Stamford Bridge

Barney Ronay



Some continuity, finally, at Chelsea Football Club. Sacking your manager seven games into the season, with more than £250m spent on players and a couple of whispered wobbles behind the scenes. This feels like home, safety, a club coming back to what they know. Nature is healing itself.

As of yesterday morning 10am Chelsea no longer have Tommy Tuchel. Tuchel no longer, in the view of the board, knows exactly what they need. But it seems Graham Potter just might, if Chelsea really do feel like taking a punt on talent, brains and method over having actually spent a single minute of your professional career at the level the club hope to operate at.

An announcement is expected, and there will be time, so much time, to chew over that succession. But for now it is a case of Vale Thomas. Let us lay that hollow-eyed, skinny-ankled ghost to rest. Because whatever the scales of justice here Tuchel's time at Chelsea has been truly extraordinary; just as his sacking tells us something quite profound about the direction of travel at this point.

In all Tuchel lasted 595 days, just a few more than Frank Lampard. His tenure took in one major honour (the most major of all), three final defeats, two distinct ownership regimes - denim-clad oligarch-bro Russian billionaire versus denim-clad investor-bro US billionaire - plus of course those three months of unprecedented

geopolitical oddity, during which the manager of Chelsea was required to comment publicly on issues ranging from the moral equivalence of European and Middle Eastern conflict in the context of UK arms sales to Marcos Alonso's ability to operate in a high pressing 3-4-3 system.

Factor in his glassy-eyed soul-sickness in Zagreb, some personal issues since moving to London, and a payoff of several million pounds for those two unspent years on his contract which, in the words of Sam from Casablanca, ought to take the sting out of being sacked; and it is hard not to wonder who, right now, is getting the rougher end of this deal.

Tuchel will be working at another top European club before long. For Chelsea, well, what exactly? This is the obvious point of jeopardy. Judged by purely sporting standards this is a careless, undeserving, arguably quite flaky move by an owner who has zero inside knowledge of the industry (is this an issue? Football's exceptionalism is hugely overstated) and who is essentially taking a leap into the blue.

Who is - or was - the most competent senior football figure on Chelsea's management staff? Answer: Thomas Tuchel. Who kicked off the summer advising the owner, to an unusually intimate degree, on the massive impending spree? Answer: Thomas Tuchel.

Plus of course Tuchel is one of the best-qualified candidates worldwide - never mind the issue of credit in the bank - to negotiate a first ticklish patch of his time in charge. Only last year he was named Uefa Men's Coach of the Year, Fifa the Best Coach of the year and IFFHS Men's World's Best Club Coach. He led two different clubs to the final of the Champions League in the past three seasons. Chelsea are - a bit misleadingly - only four points behind Manchester City.

Really? You're sacking this? And who exactly is advising

Tuchel will be working at another top club before long. For Chelsea, well, what exactly?

Chelsea's board right now given almost everyone has left? Maybe we should ask Pierre-Emerick Aubameyang what to do, he's been around a bit. Pierre, speak now if you think we should keep Tuchel? No? Nothing? Fine.

Endings aside, the oddest thing about Tuchel's time at Chelsea is still its basic oddity. As recently as March, as Jake Humphrey cut back with grand, ceremonial solemnity from Tuchel's post-match interview in Lille, as though relaying an address to the nation from inside Yoda's cave, Joe Cole could be heard suggesting that Tuchel should become prime minister of the United Kingdom, and it kind of seemed fair enough.

But then, these were scary times. In the general silence and confusion it seemed for a while that Tuchel was basically explaining the Ukrainian war to the people of Britain via a series of unforthcoming post-match interviews. Here was a man in a

beanie hat and a tracksuit who could at least offer some kind of gravitas and plain speaking, the sense of being good in a crisis, like the neighbour who comes knocking at your door two days into the collapse of all human society wearing a hunting cap and a cagoule and offering to build you a bivouac.

And this really was beyond the usual scale of turbulence. Lest we forget, Chelsea's entire operation was frozen. The proceeds from the sale of the club are still sitting in the bank account of a man described by the British government as "a pro-Kremlin oligarch". Perhaps Tuchel himself will now be placed in escrow and donated to victims of war around the world. Little wonder there might be some bumps, a little drop in the levels.

The other half of this, the Tuchel Legacy Stage One, was arguably the most skilful single six-month feat of elite coaching in modern English football history, a Champions League-winning run conjured by Tuchel on the hoof, that involved beating Atlético Madrid, Porto, Real Madrid and Manchester City.

Chelsea had the resources and the players. But this was a clear and tangible triumph of personality and resourcefulness. And really Tuchel was never going to match that high, always seemed to be running to catch up with himself from that point.

And there is of course always another story. Tuchel was hired by an entirely different group of people, and there have been whispers of tension. He is an angular, awkward kind of figure, with a history of falling out with far less likely candidates than a board of American investors. There have been obvious mistakes too. Romelu Lukaku is not the player some people - not least Romelu Lukaku himself - would make him out to be. But Tuchel's job was to make that investment work and he failed spectacularly.

The team have undeniably looked jaded, the gears jammed, movements stodgy. Despite seven signings the players have seemed exhausted, as has Tuchel. Perhaps the most simple conclusion is that this is another twitch of the dead hand of Roman, a manager over-



Sanctions
The season plays out amid off-pitch turmoil as Russia’s invasion of Ukraine leads to unprecedented government sanctions and Abramovich puts the club up for sale. With directors silent, Tuchel handles the media himself, and does it well, up to a point: “Listen, you have to stop, I’m not a politician. You have to

stop, honestly. I can only repeat, I never experienced war, I’m very privileged, I sit here in peace and do the best I can. You have to stop asking about it. I have no answers.”

New owners
Todd Boehly’s takeover completes on 30 May, and Tuchel commits his future: “I can promise I will be here, I can promise that. I will be here with full

energy and positive energy, no matter what.” Reports suggest he will be handed a huge transfer kitty and a new long-term deal, “to end the club’s hire and fire culture”.

2022-23
Tensions emerge. After what he calls a “turbulent” pre-season, Tuchel is backed with £266m on transfers. “It has calmed me down,” he says.

“The strength of Chelsea is calmness from inside and outside. I have nothing but compliments for the new owners, they are learning on the job.” But the serenity does not last, as Tuchel sees red and is later fined for his bizarre clash with Antonio



Conte after Tottenham’s late equaliser. Then, after two defeats in their opening six league games, comes a humiliating loss to Dinamo Zagreb. “It’s for me to find the solution,” he says. Hours later, Chelsea put him right on that: “The club would like to place on record its gratitude to Thomas. It is the right time to make this transition.”

◀ Thomas Tuchel lasted just a few more days than Frank Lampard as Chelsea’s manager
DARKO BANDIC/AP

Bigger stage Potter’s flair attracts Boehly but will he fit?

Nick Ames

During his time taking Östersund from deadbeat minnows to serious Europa League competitors, Graham Potter famously displayed a penchant for the theatre. His team performed Swan Lake and then there was the occasion when, in front of 1,600 punters, Potter opened a charity gala by belting out the Lapland national anthem in a local dialect. The underlying idea was a serious one: conquering stage fright in the traditional sense might nurture similar resilience for the football pitch.

With that experience Potter might seem overqualified for the lead role in a pantomime. But once all the jokes about Chelsea’s ownership-proof propensity to hire and fire have been exhausted one thing is clear: they are deadly serious about luring the Brighton manager to Stamford Bridge and continuing one of the most unusual trajectories of anyone in the industry. Potter took over at Östersund, who had initially hesitated about employing him, almost 12 years ago when they were an irrelevance in Sweden’s fourth tier, and his rise resembles the kind of fairytale his amateur dramatists might have enacted.

The opportunity may prove too alluring for Potter to resist and the

speed of Chelsea’s move to appoint him, which was made within hours of Thomas Tuchel’s sacking, suggests they have identified how he will fit within Todd Boehly’s brave new world. If he signs up the questions will centre on exactly that: instinctively the match feels more precarious than obvious, although any club in their right mind would at least consider the merits of the best English manager in the Premier League.

Few sides pass, move, rotate and create like Potter’s Brighton, even if the quality of their play has not always brought a cutting edge. One of their most attractive facets over his three-year spell in charge has been a metronomic consistency of performance, something that had eluded Tuchel and his side by the time Boehly wielded the axe. When Brighton lost for the first and, so far, only time this season at Fulham last week the surprise came less in their defeat than in the fact they had not played especially well and rarely exposed their hosts.

Chelsea would become highly watchable under Potter but the journey there may not be simple. At Brighton he slotted straight into the stable environment created by Tony Bloom and the previous manager, Chris Hughton, whose time at the Amex had run its course.

After joining Östersund he was given time and scope to build a club in his own image and forged a close relationship with the then-owner Daniel Kindberg, who has

since been found guilty of serious financial offences. Swansea, who finally took him from Östersund in 2018 after other clubs had hesitated, had lost their way when he arrived but retained the muscle memory of success under a series of managers with similar ideals.

There are far more unknowns at Boehly-era Chelsea. Will he have time to impose his style, impressive and intricate, on his new players in the thick of a season whose schedule leaves few clear runs at the training pitch? Boehly is presumably not in town to write off the current campaign in the name of restructuring. Will Potter himself have to change, at least in the short term, and find the quickest route to wins and trophies with the expensive squad he inherits? Would excuses be accepted for



Will he have time to impose his style on his new players in the thick of a season?

any equivalent of the barren home run that dogged Brighton two years ago, or the 11-game winless streak that threatened to derail their ultimately excellent 2021-22 season?

At Östersund Potter built a squad on second chances and took them to the Europa League knockouts: he made high-level performers out of Jamie Hopcutt, who had been discarded by York, and the former Spennymoor Town and Thornaby midfielder Curtis Edwards. His captain was Brwa Nouri, once seen as a bad boy who few in Swedish football would touch. An eye for a talent met with the emotional intelligence, a subject in which Potter has a masters degree, that made footballers feel comfortable in their skin.

Brighton’s recruitment policy pays less attention to the scrapheap but, by top-flight standards, is reliably innovative. Potter has fashioned individuals such as Enock Mwepu, Moisés Caicedo and Leandro Trossard into players who could propel them into Europe and should in any case generate a handsome profit some day; at Chelsea he would be reunited with the rewards of such labours in the form of Marc Cucurella. Stamford Bridge brims with ready-made stars but the salient point for Boehly might be that Potter, an exceptional man-manager and no pushover regardless of an outward absence of ego, has already taken a diverse group into the top four places.

“I never normally think about it but when you do zoom out you think ‘Yeah, it’s quite good,’” Potter said of his feat at Östersund during the most eye-catching part of their European run. That would be an understatement now. His skills, along with Chelsea’s capacity for patience, may now be in line for their sternest test yet; more drama, even if only of the footballing kind, would lie ahead.

exposed to the fallout, burning through his reserves of personal capital, played out in high-speed fast-forward. All Chelsea managers must enter a period of physical dissolution, appearing unshaven and haggard in stained tracksuit trousers, gimlet-eyed for the cameras. It certainly feels like Tuchel got there ahead of time.

Whoever comes in now will inherit a fine squad and a team with winning habits. Potter, if it is he, has no experience at this level and little time to impose his slow-burn methods. His appointment would be a victory for rewarding talent and earning your step up, just as it is hard to imagine even Brighton’s supporters would begrudge him the chance, if only for the intrigue of watching him adapt and learn.

Time and an unusual degree of patience will be required. So how are we looking with both of those? Three months in Boehly and his board have shown something more familiar. React to results. Jump ship midstream. Buy £250m of players with one manager, then hire another. Welcome back, Chelsea. You haven’t changed a bit.

‘It is the right time for this transition’

Continued from back page

their efforts during their time with the club,” a statement said. “Thomas will rightly have a place in Chelsea’s history after winning the Champions League, the Super Cup and Club World Cup in his time here.

“As the new ownership group reaches 100 days since taking over the club, and as it continues its hard

work to take the club forward, the new owners believe it is the right time to make this transition.

“Chelsea’s coaching staff will take charge of the team for training and the preparation of our upcoming matches as the club moves swiftly to appoint a new head coach.”

The sacking took place face-to-face with the owners yesterday morning at the Cobham training ground and Tuchel’s three coaches – Arno Michels, Zsolt Löw and Benjamin Weber – are expected to depart.

Tuchel has been extremely outspoken about the squad’s readiness to compete, beginning with his explosive remarks after the 4-0 defeat by Arsenal on the club’s

US tour. The owners began to see the same complaints from him and the same excuses but no solutions, with Zagreb representing the nadir. “At the moment, everything is missing,” he said on Tuesday night. The owners have felt his comments affected the players’ confidence.

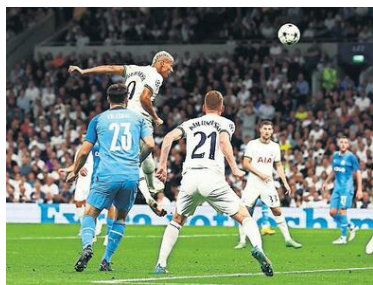
Tuchel felt isolated after the departures of his close allies Marina Granovskaia, a director, and Petr Cech, the technical and performance adviser. The US tour was heavy on tension, as a number of players in the travelling party faced uncertain futures. Tuchel frequently cut a frustrated figure.

Tuchel took over from Frank Lampard in January 2021 and won the

Champions League four months later. An anticipated Premier League title challenge the following season failed to materialise, with Romelu Lukaku’s club record arrival not bringing the desired impact, but the campaign was complicated by the situation surrounding Roman Abramovich’s ownership. Tuchel led the team to the FA Cup and Carabao Cup finals but lost both to Liverpool on penalties.

Tuchel has struggled to contain his emotions in recent weeks, being sent off against Tottenham and deemed “largely culpable” for his clash with Antonio Conte, and shown a yellow card in Zagreb. Chelsea are five points off the top of the Premier League and three points off fourth spot.

Rich pickings
Spurs celebrate
return to big
stage with
Marseille win



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Tour de force
McIlroy swipes
at friends
turned rebels
at Wentworth

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**Third Test
England
win would
set seal on
best home
season for
18 years**
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The Guardian
Thursday 8 September 2022



Sport

All change again Chelsea hold talks with Potter after sacking Tuchel

Ed Aarons
David Hytner

Chelsea have held positive talks with Brighton's Graham Potter over their vacant manager's job after sacking Thomas Tuchel in the wake of Tuesday's 1-0 defeat at Dinamo Zagreb in the Champions League.

Potter is Chelsea's first choice, with Mauricio Pochettino their preferred backup option should talks break down and Zinedine Zidane another on the shortlist. Potter has a release clause that is believed to decrease each year and is currently about £16m.

Tuchel's departure follows a disappointing start to the season, with the club having also been beaten by Leeds and Southampton in the Premier League, and has been on the cards after Tuchel's relationship with the co-owner Todd Boehly unravelled during a chaotic summer transfer window. The pair had all but stopped communicating.

Chelsea have spent a record £266m in one window to bring in Wesley Fofana, Marc Cucurella, Raheem Sterling, Kalidou Koulibaly, Carney Chukwuemeka and Pierre-Emerick Aubameyang among others. That increased the pressure on Tuchel but not all were his signings and there were other instances of the ownership attempting to foist players on him.

Inside



'Tuchel's glassy-eyed soul-sickness in Zagreb said it all'
Barney Ronay
Page 46 →

'Potter's skills are now in line for their sternest test yet'
Nick Ames
Page 47 →

One example was the case of Anthony Gordon, whom Tuchel did not want. Boehly's data analysts had pushed for the Everton midfielder after being impressed by some of his performance metrics. Tuchel came to feel he had too many players to accommodate and not enough he could count on.

Chelsea paid £59m for Cucurella despite having the England left-back Ben Chilwell in their ranks. It is unclear quite how badly Tuchel wanted or needed Cucurella, who Manchester City had chased before deeming him too expensive.

Chukwuemeka, the 18-year-old Aston Villa midfielder, was more of a club signing. Boehly is determined to foster a second track of players within the first-team squad, comprising a significant number of academy products and young prospects.

Tuchel was prepared to allow the academy product Armando Broja to leave, believing he was not yet ready for his team and with West Ham having offered £30m. But the club ended up giving the striker a lucrative new six-year deal, leaving Tuchel under pressure to give him minutes.

There are other players Tuchel was prepared to move on only for them to stay, including Hakim Ziyech, who was of interest to Ajax. In terms of the incoming business, Tuchel said last Friday that the club had probably overpaid – out of necessity. "It's maybe hard to argue when they say it's way too much money," he said.

Tuchel admitted there was "always a risk in everything and in every last-minute deal" when he considered the deadline-day loan signing of Denis Zakaria from Juventus.

Boehly learned that some senior players were unhappy with Tuchel's tactics and is keen to make his own appointment. Chelsea used three formations in Zagreb, one of which included using Sterling in central midfield.

The squad were surprised to be given time off after the 3-0 defeat at Leeds in August and some wondered whether Tuchel would have taken the same approach early in his reign.

"On behalf of everyone at Chelsea FC, the club would like to place on record its gratitude to Thomas and his staff for all

Liverpool's nightmare in Naples



Napoli

4



Liverpool

1

► André-Frank Zambo Anguissa celebrates the second goal as Napoli ripped Liverpool apart
Match report Page 44 →

Walsh smashes transfer record with £400,000 move to Barça

Mark Dobson

The evolution of the women's game continued apace yesterday as the England midfielder Keira Walsh set a new world record transfer fee by sealing a £400,000 move from Manchester City to Barcelona.

The 25-year-old, one of the stand-out players of the Lionesses' Euro 2022 success this summer, had a year remaining on her City contract and the Women's Super League club reluctantly had to accept the latest bid from Barça. Walsh will be reu-

nited with her former City team-mate Lucy Bronze, who moved to Barcelona on a free transfer.

The transfer, which was finalised in time for Spain's 11pm deadline,



▲ Keira Walsh was player of the match in England's Euros final glory

easily surpassed the previous record fee – the £250,000 paid by Chelsea in 2020 for the Denmark star Pernille Harder from Wolfsburg.

Yesterday, Harder said she was happy to see her record broken.

"It's good for women's football to get the money rolling," said the forward. "That's what I wanted. I wanted to start something new."

Walsh's exit adds to the significant list of players to have departed City this summer.

Along with Walsh and Bronze, Georgia Stanway has moved to Bayern Munich, Scotland's Caroline Weir to Real Madrid while Ellen White and Jill Scott have retired.

In comparison, Barcelona have flexed their muscles and will hope to go one better after being beaten in last season's Champions League final. Barça's pur-

FRANCESCO PECORARO/GETTY IMAGES

“Intelligent women are dangerous, no?”



Samantha Morton
on sexism,
success and
survival

The
Guardian



Thursday 08/09/22

Life

& Arts

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Heaven is an
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page 3



Long shot
Why architects
dream of
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Weekly answers for enquiring minds



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Adrian Chiles



After three weeks travelling in Europe, I'm calling it - British food is the best

Last month in Croatia an old Serbian guy told me a joke about the British, the French, the Germans and the Swiss. I'm shaky on the details but it concerned a vision of paradise in which the engineers were German, the chefs were French, the lovers were Italian, the Swiss were in charge of organising everything and the police - or the "bobbies" as my Serbian friend Slobodan called them - were British. I felt a light swelling of pride at this Dixon of Dock Green characterisation of law enforcement in my home country. As for the punchline, I'm not sure how we got to it but there was some kind of muddle in which the Italians were put in charge of organising everything, which led to the policing being done by the Germans, the engineering by the French, the British did the cooking and all the lovers were Swiss.

Now, there's a lot of crass national stereotyping to unpick here. German coppers seem OK to me, and our Renault drives very nicely. As for the Swiss, while I've never had a Swiss lover, I can't imagine what they might lack for in the bedroom. My friend told me he once offended a Swiss bloke with this joke, and now he had offended me. It wasn't the first time I'd heard my home country's food casually disparaged. And I'm not having it. Having spent three weeks travelling around Europe this summer, I know for sure that, depending on the criteria, we're the best.

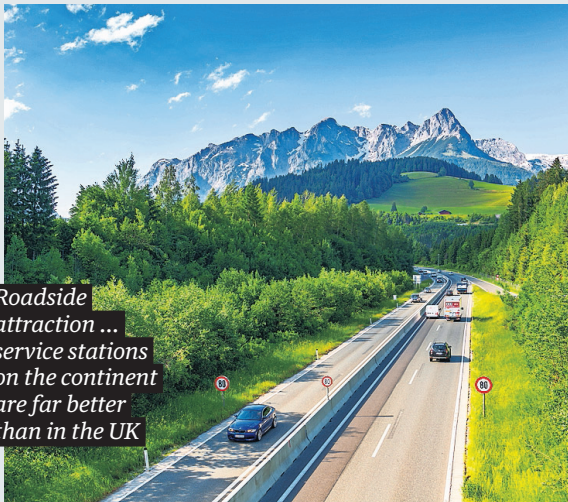
Where we win hands down is on variety. I was told the joke in a bustling village by a harbour on an island in the Adriatic. I love the place and I've spent an awful lot of time there, although I won't name it lest I cause offence with what I'm about to say, resulting in me being

killed, cooked and eaten next time I'm there. But within five minutes' walk of the cafe where we were sitting were about 20 restaurants. I've been to them all at some time or other. While some are better than others, the standard of food is generally excellent - seafood, some meat, plenty of salads, a lot of chard and a pizza or two. However, the menus are about the same wherever you go. The offering hardly varies. This is true on that beloved island of mine and indeed elsewhere in continental Europe. In France you eat French, Italy Italian, Greece Greek, Spain Spanish, and so on. Wherever you go, it's marvellous for the first five days and then it becomes a bit more boring with every day that passes.

In the UK, we have a bit of everything, happily offering up French, Italian, Greek or whatever you fancy. Even the smallest of our towns will probably have - in addition to a traditional cafe, chippy, restaurant or pub with food - an Indian/Bangladeshi place, something Chinese, a kebab shop and perhaps a Thai restaurant. A nonsense argument about this diversity being itself an outcome of our incompetence in the kitchen might be advanced, but even if this is the case, what of it? How lucky we are not to be living in the culinary monoculture that is the norm for many of our European cousins.

The area in which we are comparatively and embarrassingly ill-served is what we might term

Roadside attraction ... service stations on the continent are far better than in the UK



food-on-the-move. Our motorway services are overcrowded and overpriced, featuring all the usual suspect mega-brands. Off the motorways you'll find next to nothing, and if you do, well, good luck. Best of British.

On the continent, however, it is a different story. Going back to where I started this rant, in Croatia, there seem to be excellent little family restaurants at every other bend in the road. And the motorway services, as elsewhere in Europe, are spotless and replete with interesting stuff you want to eat and drink. Somewhere in Belgium, along with fuel, we got a small loaf of bread as black as night, with some nice cheese. In Italy, east of Venice, the chap mending the espresso machine filled my mug for free. But my personal favourite was one of Landzeit's Autobahn-Restaurants in Austria, just south of Wels. Ye gods, it was like a cross between Fortnum & Mason, your best local buffet restaurant and your favourite farmers' market. Mountains of salad and vegetables; hams and strings of things hanging all about; a fish counter; patisserie; and sausages - meat and vegan - so thick and long you could have rolled cricket pitches with them. Agog, I checked out of the window. Yes, there was a motorway out there and this was therefore a motorway service station.

The chefs looked like chefs, and not in a fancy dress way. It wasn't just the outfits; they knew their onions. Each counter was like a different cookery class. Other staff were kitted out in what I took to be traditional Austrian dress. Bit kitsch, I suppose, but my love was blind to this. Could we bring the dog in? But of course! And here's some water and snacks for him. I was filled with regret that we'd only popped in to charge the car and had to be somewhere else by nightfall. Otherwise, I would have stayed for the night, or even a week. I may make a special journey back there next year. Before we left, heavy of heart, I startled some of the staff by barking at them in poor German that it was the best Autobahn-Restaurant I'd ever come across in all my days.

I'm now working on a joke of my own featuring a vision of paradise in which we find a Croatian roadside restaurant, an Austrian motorway service station, a faulty Italian espresso machine and a British curry house. Feel free to come up with your own punchline.

Pass notes



No 4,457

Phillip Schofield

Age: 60.

Appearance: The face of Vladimir Putin's war on the west.

Really? I guess I was thinking of a different Phillip Schofield. No, no, it's the same one. The former children's TV presenter and host of The Cube and Dancing On Ice?

That's him.

How did he get involved with Putin?

Through his work as co-presenter of ITV's This Morning.

With Holly Willoughby? Correct. This week the pair started fronting a regular "Spin to Win" competition for viewers, featuring a big wheel and prizes.

Don't tell me: Putin called in and won. No, but along with cash prizes, the wheel now offers viewers a chance to have their runaway energy bills paid for four months.

I thought they used to give away luxury holidays and stuff like that. With the average energy bill set to crack £3,600 by this winter, this is the new luxury prize: being warm.

Can ITV afford it? The bad publicity may be worse than the payout, with various commentators likening the competition to something from a Black Mirror episode.

It does seem a bit dystopian, now you mention it. And that's how Schofield became the face of Putin's war on the west.

Hang on - the stunt may be crass and ill-judged, but it's still a long way off taking Putin's side. Unfortunately, Russia's Kremlin-friendly news outlets have seized on the story as propaganda.

Those bastards. The host of Russian state television's morning show, Olga Skabeyeva, reported that UK viewers were being offered heating as a prize. "Apart from that, one could win £1,000 or even £3,000," she said, "but judging from soaring energy prices that have gone up 80% in one go, it's clearly much better to win payment for your energy bills." She's not wrong. Anyway, This Morning has already made an attempt to address the controversy.

How? It has adjusted the game slightly, so the top prize now covers the cost of living generally. "So that could be your mortgage, petrol, food, your energy," said Schofield on Tuesday. "You decide, we'll pay your bills until the end of the year up to a value of £3,000."

That isn't better! Apart from anything else, it's still not enough! It might be if you cut back on eating and wear a coat in the house.

Do say: "Let's not panic until we've heard Liz Truss's energy plan. Then let's panic."

Don't say: "Come on Phillip and Holly, Bradley on The Chase is giving away bags of coal."



A vision of the Line in north-west Saudi Arabia; seen from inside (far right)

Here's none we made earlier

Saudi Arabia is dreaming of building a 170km 'linear city' whose mirrored walls would house 9 million people. The precedents are not encouraging, says **Oliver Wainwright**

The contemporary city needs a full redesign," purrs a seductive voice, over surging orchestral strings. "What if we removed cars? What if everything you needed was always a five-minute walk away?" An animation depicting an oblong megastructure sprouting from a desert landscape, slicing through sand dunes in a continuous urban strip: a city of 9 million people, sealed inside a mirror-clad box. "A 170km revolution in urban living," says the narrator, "protecting the Earth's most stunning nature, while creating unmatched liveability."

Most cities don't come with their own Hollywood-style trailers, but then most cities are not the Line. Unveiled in July, the project is the latest heady fantasy to emerge from the kingdom of Saudi Arabia's marketing machine, garnering breathless headlines and torrents of clicks (its videos have 400m views and counting). The slick trailers promise a car-free, carbon-neutral bubble with its own temperate microclimate, where artificial intelligence will be "continuously learning predictive ways to make life easier". The city's 500-metre-high glass walls drip with lush hanging gardens, a vision of hyper-nature taking over the buildings' pixelated glass blocks, their facades etched with circuit-board motifs, as if the metropolis itself were a habitable supercomputer. The walls frame a deep canyon sprinkled with Edenic terraces, swimming lakes and picnicking

couples, all floating above a high-speed rail line ready to whisk them along the urban ribbon, safely protected from the outside world.

If it looks like something from a Marvel movie, there's a reason. The army of consultants commissioned to work on Neom, the \$500bn urban region of which the Line is part, comprises not only urban planners but digital artists from the special effects industry. According to a Bloomberg report, they include Olivier Pron, a designer who helped create the look of Marvel's Guardians of the Galaxy films; Nathan Crowley, known for his work on the Dark Knight trilogy of Batman movies; and futurist Jeff Julian, who worked on the apocalyptic extravaganzas World War Z and I Am Legend.

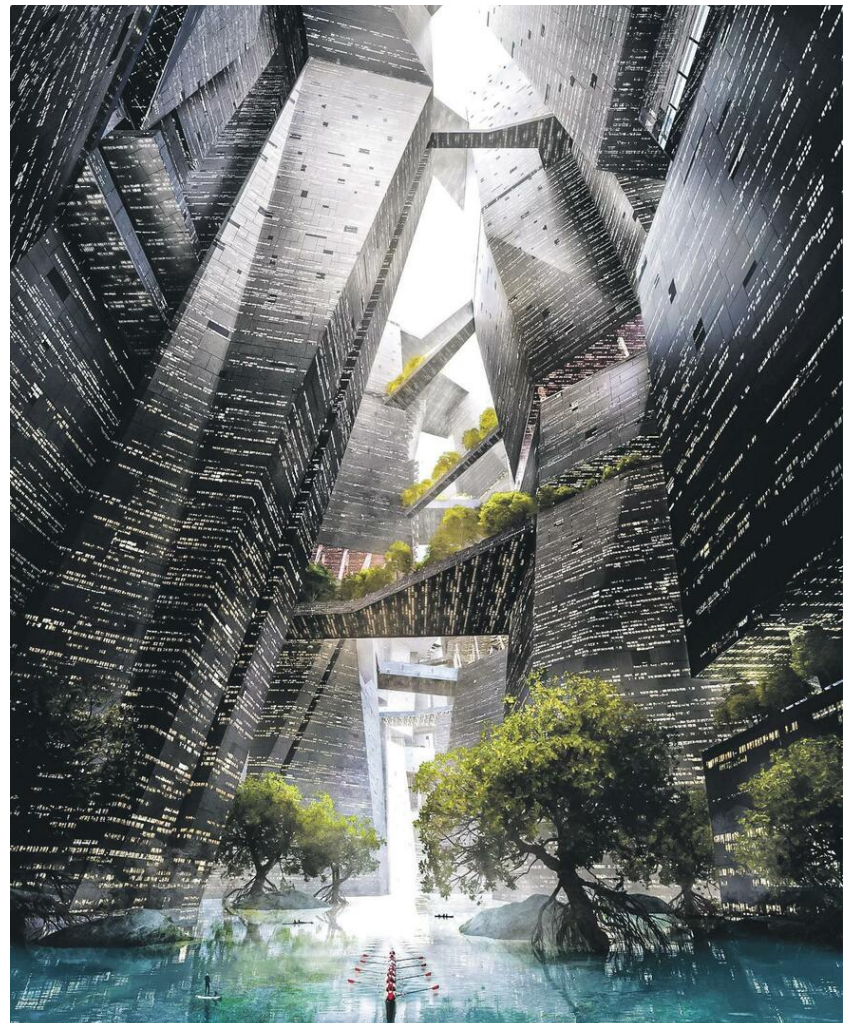
The ominous dystopian undertone to the aesthetic of the project can also be partly explained by Saudi ruler Mohammed bin Salman's apparent penchant for cyberpunk – a sci-fi genre, notes the Oxford English Dictionary, "typified by a bleak, hi-tech setting in which a lawless subculture exists within an oppressive society dominated by computer technology". If ever there was an urban vision that embraced our end-of-days climate apocalypse, a petrodollar mirage of horizontal glass skyscrapers in the desert as the world burns, then this is it.

The plans for the Line were instantly compared to the Continuous Monument, a theoretical project drawn up by Italian collective Superstudio in 1969, which was not a blueprint for a smart city but a searing critique of the relentless urbanisation of the planet. Their collages of a glass megastructure, ploughing through desert landscapes, cutting across oceans and engulfing Manhattan, were intended to represent a "negative utopia", according to Superstudio co-founder Adolfo Natalini, and stand as a warning against "the horrors architecture had in store, with its scientific methods for perpetuating standard models worldwide". Another Superstudio member, Gian Piero Frassinelli, was rueful in a recent interview: "Seeing the dystopias of your own imagination being created," he said, referring to the Line, "is not the best thing you could wish for."

It may be seen as a dystopian nightmare, the folly of an autocrat desperate for global approval, but the idea of building a self-contained linear city has preoccupied the imaginations of architects and planners for generations. The Line might bill itself as a "never-before-seen approach to urbanisation", but the principles behind it have been proposed many times over – though never successfully realised.

The origins of the linear city dream are usually credited to the Spanish town planner Arturo Soria y Mata, who first articulated the concept 140 years ago. Writing in 1882, in the Madrid newspaper El Progreso, he argued that the "almost perfect" type of city would be "a single street unit 500 metres broad, extending if necessary from Cádiz to St Petersburg, from Peking to Brussels". His Ciudad Lineal imagined urban functions separated in bands either side of a central boulevard and tramway, "for every family its own house, for each house an orchard and garden," the urban strip insulated by woodland on either side. Soria even went as far as founding a tram company and buying land on the outskirts of Madrid to test out his theory. But the surrounding land values soon inflated out of reach, and his experiment gradually became swallowed up by the city.

If history repeats itself first as tragedy, then as farce, the first tragic attempt to follow in Soria's footsteps came in 1910 in the United States. That year, Edgar Chambless took a map and a ruler, and drew a straight line from the Atlantic coast to the Allegheny mountains of West Virginia, then on to the Mississippi, across the prairies to the Rockies, and down to the beaches of the Pacific. His line represented the path of a



continuous street of two-storey houses, to be built atop a triple-decker stack of railway lines, with a promenade along the rooftops, leaving untouched expanses of countryside extending for miles around on either side.

“The idea occurred to me to lay the modern skyscraper on its side,” Chambless wrote. “I would take the apartment house and all its conveniences and comforts out among the farms by the aid of wires, pipes and rapid and noiseless transportation. I would extend the blotch of human habitations called cities out in radiating lines. I would surround the city worker with the trees and grass and woods and meadows, and the farmer with all the advantages of city life - I had invented Roadtown.”

Just like the Line, Roadtown

was premised on the lure of convenience, and the idea that the messy chaos of the city could be corralled inside a singular, sanitised strip, with “rent reduced, taxes minimised, slums exterminated”. Chambless’s sales pitch sounds almost identical to the Saudi scheme, describing the linear city as a hyper-connected place, joined by modern communication and “arrow-swift” noiseless transport, with “telephones, telegraphs, teleposts, parcel-carriers, freight service ... enabling you to live along the line from part to part and from end to end, and be served with the best at the cheapest at all times, while sitting in your easy chair”.

Roadtown was enthusiastically backed by Thomas Edison, who donated his patents for moulded-cement housing. But, as with

Soria’s scheme, wider support was unforthcoming. Undeterred, Chambless continued to promote his project for the next two decades, entering his plan to the 1939 New York World’s Fair competition, suggesting that the fair itself should be built around transportation, with prefabricated buildings to prevent waste. His submission went unanswered, and he killed himself in 1936.

While Chambless’s vision was an embodiment of the American dream of freedom, mobility and man’s triumph over the land, the idea of the linear city was also taking root among radical architects of the Soviet Union around the same time, driven by a very different ideology. Mikhail Okhitovich, a constructivist theorist and town planner, rejected the centralised city as a product of capitalism. Instead, he championed the idea of “disurbanism”, plotting cities in the form of long ribbons of decentralised development, as a means of populating the country’s sprawling rural hinterland with self-sufficient settlements. Housing would be dispersed along linear routes, with communal dining, leisure facilities and employment centres at major road junctions.

Okhitovich put his ideas to the test in 1930, in a competition proposal for Magnitogorsk, an industrial city named after its “magnetic mountain” of iron ore. He imagined a network of eight 25km-long ribbons, along which the city’s resident-workers would live in individual “pod-houses” that could be easily reconfigured, the ribbons converging on a giant iron and steel works. Children would receive their own separate pods, with the aim of dissolving traditional family structures, while a divorce would no longer entail haggling over property - you could simply decouple your pods and go your own way.

But Okhitovich’s disurbanist thinking was rejected as economically crippling and politically dangerous. He was reprimanded by the politburo for speaking out against the Stalinist “cult of hierarchy” and sent to the gulag, where he was executed in 1937.

One Soviet town planner plotted cities in the form of long ribbons. He ended up in the gulag

While Chambless was peddling Roadtown across America, and Okhitovich imagining urban ribbons snaking through the Ural mountains, the Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier, maestro of megalomaniacal urban plans, was busy drawing up a linear city of his own. In 1931, to mark the centennial of French rule in Algeria, the colonial government unveiled a new city plan for the capital, Algiers. Le Corbusier saw it as a sorely missed opportunity - and a promotional opportunity for himself to offer a more radical vision. Without any official commission, he concocted Plan Obus, a wildly implausible scheme that included a vast elevated highway winding between the hills, with 14 storeys of housing for the working class stuffed underneath it, like a kind of inhabited viaduct, with room for 180,000 people.

“Here is the new Algiers,” he declared. “Instead of the leprous sore which had sullied the gulf and the slopes of the Sael, here stands architecture.”

Le Corbusier’s brutal intervention in the landscape was strangely at odds with his professed appreciation of the local vernacular. “O inspiring image!” he wrote, stirred by the sight of the dense, cubic architecture of the city’s casbah. “Arabs, are there no peoples but you who dwell in coolness and quiet, in the enchantment of proportions and the savour of a humane architecture?” Yet his plan advocated razing more than half of the casbah to make way for a new business centre. Thankfully, his inflated colonial ambitions remained just that.

Despite these failures, linear city fever returned in the 1960s, fuelled by a wave of postwar techno-utopian optimism, and the firm belief that infrastructure could cure the ills of the over-crowded metropolis. In 1961, Japanese architect Kenzō Tange presented his scheme for the future of Tokyo Bay on national television, and, in doing so, triggered among architects a thirst for megastructures that would last for the next two decades. He proposed an 80km urban spine stretching across the bay, with city modules connected by three levels of looping roads, and modular

buildings clipped on to the highway skeleton - a plug-and-play system that could be easily updated as and when needed. As with Roadtown before it, Tange’s plan was based on a firm belief that communication and mobility would inevitably shape the future city in linear form.

“Mass communication has released the city from the bonds of a closed organisation and is changing the structure of society itself,” he proclaimed. “It is the arterial system which preserves the life and human drive of the city, the nervous system which moves its brain. Mobility determines the structure of the city.” Just as the cathedral had stood at the symbolic centre of the medieval city, so would his “civic axis” provide the new organisational spine of the modern metropolis. In fine tradition, his proposals remained firmly on paper, although they went on to inspire the Japanese metabolist movement, which would conjure ever more feverish sci-fi plans, the linear city sprouting branches and blooming into vertical clusters of inhabited trees.

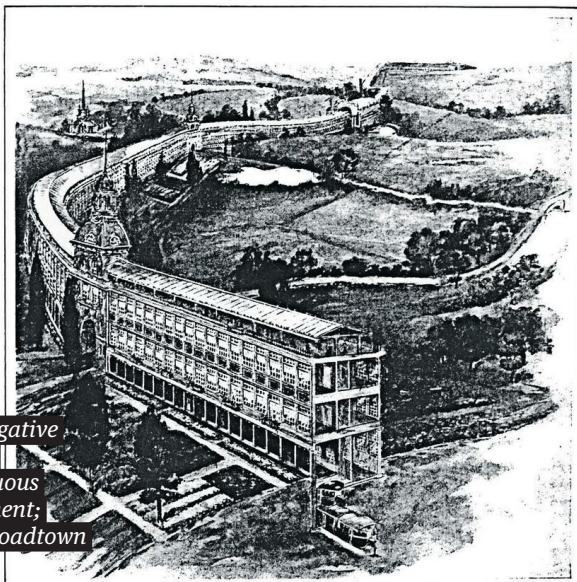
Back in the US, the evangelical belief in roads as the saviour of cities continued apace. In 1965, young architects Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves imagined a linear city that would stretch all the way from Boston to Washington DC, built on a podium of multi-deck highways. Depicted without any of the seductive finesse of Tange’s plan, the architects’ vision included a pair of spartan oblong blocks, one for industry, the other for housing, offices and shops, looking like an infinite extrusion of a generic office-cum-mall. The idea, they wrote, was that these urban “corridors” might join existing cities from Maine to Miami, like links in an endless chain.

“The final result could be a system which at once would send the longest manmade structure ever seen on earth snaking across its horizons,” cooed Life magazine, “and at the same time make it possible to conduct most urban activities within distances a man enjoys to walk.” The article noted that the linear form “would avoid any cross-town traffic jams” - conveniently overlooking the fact that the city itself would probably be one gigantic linear traffic jam.

So will The Line succeed where other linear city dreams before it have failed, or is it merely set to repeat the mistakes of the past, on an epic scale? In the deserts of northwestern Saudi Arabia, a faint linear furrow is already visible from the air. Time will tell if it becomes anything more than that, or if it remains a line in the sand, an Ozymandian bookend to 140 years of deluded urban fantasies.



The ‘negative utopia’
Continuous Monument;
right, Roadtown



'Is it harder for female film-makers? 100%'

Samantha Morton survived abuse in care, then sexism in Hollywood. She tells **Emine Saner** why she loves her latest role – as the powerful Catherine de Medici

Not so long ago, Samantha Morton was given a relic from her past – her application form to join Nottingham's Central Junior Television Workshop (one of the organisation's leaders, clearly proud of Morton's success, had hung on to it). It asked her to list what she wanted to be when she grew up. Prime minister, she wrote, followed by novelist and actor. She laughs, remembering it. We have been talking about her going into politics one day – not such a leap for an actor who is intensely political (the "novelist" bit might have to wait). But it also seems to sum up so much else about the young Morton I'm picturing, defiant blue eyes staring out from the scrappy passport photo that would have been stapled to the corner of the sheet. Drive and ambition, and a feeling that despite everything she had been through by that point – in and out of care for years, subjected to physical and sexual abuse – that her hopes and dreams could be as big as anyone's.

Through immense talent, luck and sheer force of will, Morton, 45,



Morton in *The Serpent Queen*

did make it – Hollywood success, indie superstardom, two Oscar nominations, a Bafta for the first film she directed, and now starring roles in big TV shows. She was in *The Walking Dead*, playing Alpha, the leader of a zombie army, and has just been announced as the lead in another series, *The Burning Girls*. Her latest is in *The Serpent Queen*, as Catherine de Medici, the 16th-century queen of France, vilified throughout history, but portrayed here by Morton with characteristic empathy.

How did she get into the head of

such a legend? "I think ultimately with any character, it's about finding them in a private moment," says Morton, speaking over Zoom from a home that looks lovely, with old wooden beams and plenty of art. "When I'm alone with the scripts, I need to be able to see in my head who they are, how they walk, how they breathe." Morton didn't know much about Catherine, but realised she "had permeated my life in all different ways, from Disney films to Grimm fairytales to the arts. She was an original thinker. She was massively

educated, spoke many languages, was a great mathematician, astrologer, astronomer."

She is always, says Morton, "the smartest person in the room, and then has to almost dumb down in order to facilitate other people's egos and make sure that ..." She pauses. "Make sure she's going to survive. She can't expose herself as being intelligent. Intelligent women are dangerous, no? She was able to overcome all those obstacles and not only survive, but thrive to become the longest ruler in France. It's an extraordinary story, knowing – as much as we can tell, because history is written by men – that it was true."

Some of the themes, she adds, are as relevant today as they were then, "certainly the ownership of a female body, and how they talk about young Catherine getting pregnant [her worth was in providing heirs, and she didn't conceive for 10 years]. We only have to look at what's happening in America, and what's potentially going to happen in the UK, in regards to the ownership of our bodies by the state. Any woman watching the show will have something in common with her, because of the way times are changing for us."

Then there are personal similarities between Morton and Catherine – the resilience, the survival instinct – if at opposite ends of the privilege scale. Morton was first taken into care as a baby, and later was made a ward of court – under the responsibility of the state, like Catherine, an orphan who grew up in a convent until her marriage to the second son of the French king Francis I. "She was given the best education money could buy. I've often said, when I was in care, it would have been great if I'd have been sent to a fancy boarding school because at least I would have come out of it ..." She pauses again. "I might have been scarred in some way, but I would have had a great education at the end of it." Many children in care, she points out, leave "with no GCSEs and no future that doesn't just tick the statistic box of ending up sadly in prison or homeless".

Where Catherine is calculating and cunning, Morton seems instinctive. Would the actor have had a different type of career if she

had played the game? "Oh, yes," she says instantly and laughs. "But how long would that career have lasted?" When she was still building her career, she called out sexist comments, and did things such as tell executives to "fuck off" – she was to star in one big Hollywood movie, but was appalled when she was asked to wear a skirt to dinner with executives, and relayed the message through her agent. "I didn't play the game and those actresses that did, and knew how to, are certainly very successful today. I just had to be able to go to bed at night and be comfortable with myself."

She preferred, she says, "staying in the independent film sector whereby I had really good relationships with directors and producers. That worked for me because a lot of the people that were in power back then were people that I didn't feel very safe around." She has spoken before about being touched inappropriately and repeatedly on film sets. Long before the film producer Harvey Weinstein was exposed as a sexual predator, she was one of the few young actors who had publicly denounced his bullying behaviour; she was dropped from the film *The Brothers Grimm* after Weinstein allegedly said that male stars would not want to have sex with her. One of Morton's upcoming roles, with delicious irony, is in *She Said*, about the New York Times journalists who broke the Weinstein story; she plays Zelda Perkins, the former Miramax assistant who reported Weinstein to her bosses in the 90s and was forced to sign a nondisclosure agreement.

Anyway, says Morton, the choices she made worked out. "I'm still working." Does she feel vindicated? She is a hugely respected actor, with an impressive body of work behind her, and now she's doing the big, well-paid TV jobs, too. "I don't know if I feel vindicated," she says. "I feel sad that we got to where we got to, and I feel devastated for people that were abused. I sometimes look back, doing the kind of films or auditions I was doing and how I was treated, and just go: 'That just wouldn't happen today.' It shouldn't have happened then." What sort of things? "Just that women were treated a certain way in the 90s and 2000s, we just were in any industry



As Zelda Perkins in *She Said*



With Ahsen Bhatti in *Band of Gold*

MAIN PORTRAIT: PÅL HANSEN/THE GUARDIAN, STYLING: KAREN CLARKSON, FASHION ASSISTANT: MOLLY ELLISON; SAMANTHA'S BLACK JACKET IS VINTAGE COMME DES GARÇONS FROM FOUND AND VISION; T-SHIRT IS SPORTS BANGER; JEANS ARE SAM'S OWN



Samantha Morton: 'I didn't play the game'

- there was misogyny everywhere. And there still is - I think there's misogyny on film sets still, and we have to deal with it on a day-to-day basis. That can even be down to how people talk down to us, or how they talk to the makeup team or female runners. It's a pretty male industry."

She was ambitious to make good work, not necessarily good money, which made her more selective. "I was from a situation where I had no money at all, so any money was a bonus, and I knew how to budget and look after myself. If I wasn't working for seven or eight months because I didn't want to do the projects that were available, I'd be like, I'll go and try my hand at poetry. I'll go and retrain, go to college."

Morton grew up in Nottingham.

She has always spoken with love about her parents, who had nine children between them, but it was not a safe environment in which to grow up; her mother, having endured her own traumatic childhood, had poor mental health and Morton has said her father could be violent. After she was taken into care, she would return on and off to her father, who had custody, before permanently moving into the care system, which meant going in and out of foster homes and then children's homes. In 2014, she spoke about being the victim of sexual abuse at one home - she reported the abuse to her mother and the police and she was moved. No action was taken against the perpetrators. At the next home she

lived in, she experienced physical abuse. She would run away, sleeping rough rather than stay at the home, and shoplift food.

At 13, she left school, but around this time she also got a place at what was then the Central Junior Television Workshop. Within a couple of years, Morton was getting acting roles in London - in TV shows such as Cracker and Band of Gold, and in theatre. She had grit in abundance, but it gave her discipline and made her realise a successful career would involve sacrifice and commitment. One of her best friends was killed in a car accident and the funeral was scheduled for the first day of rehearsals at the Royal Court theatre. "The director said: 'If you

don't turn up, you're not in the play,'" says Morton. "I remember thinking how tough that was, and talking to my friend's mum and her saying: 'She'd want this opportunity for you.' I was living in a homeless hostel at that point."

Even if she didn't entirely play the Hollywood game, Morton's career rocketed - roles in Woody Allen's Sweet and Lowdown, which brought her first Oscar nomination (the second was for the immigrant drama In America), and Steven Spielberg's Minority Report, as well as British independent films such as Morvern Callar. Many of her roles, including as an 18th-century brothel owner in Harlots or as a single mother forced to sell sex to survive in I Am Kirsty, have portrayed women who are judged by society. "Certainly, a lot of the roles I've chosen have had a social ..." She thinks of the word. "An edge to them."

Morton's 2009 film, The Unloved, about a young girl going into care, did incredibly well - 3 million people watched it on TV, and it won a Bafta and a best actor award for Robert Carlyle - but frustratingly, Morton has found it hard to get funding for her next film, Starlings, intended to be the second of a trilogy. "Film4 didn't want to make the film with me, which broke my heart a little bit because they'd made The Unloved. They didn't even want to read my script," she says. "The BBC didn't want to read my script either. I don't know that if I was Michael Winterbottom they might want to, but I found all that really tough." Is it harder for female film-makers? "One hundred per cent. I think a lot of the people that make the decisions about films are men, and for some reason, they trust male film-makers - even if they've only done a commercial or a music video, they seem to trust them [more]."

At one point, Morton says: "I think the older I get, the more

little Sam is almost something in the distance," but if her own trauma is lessened, the issues that affected her as a child - and that children are going through today - are still things she thinks about on a daily basis. She has been "ranting and raving", she says, about the effects of austerity for years, and with the cost of living crisis, life is going to get a lot worse for the most vulnerable in society. "It's always the children that suffer the most when there's poverty, depression, alcoholism, addiction problems. When people have it really tough, children suffer the most."

Child protection services are grossly underresourced and in need of reform, she points out. "This isn't rocket science - this can be fixed with the right attitude, and knowing how to spend public money, but it seems those things are shoved under the carpet by successive governments." Every so often, when a horrific story breaks about child abuse, she says, "the whole country will go: 'Aren't those people evil?'" She would rather people ask, she says: "What could we have done as a society to have helped that situation have a different outcome?" It is frustrating, she says, because some of the answers are "not out of the reach of any politician. They're things that can happen. They need money, they need the right people, but we're not asking for the world." Meanwhile, the top 10 providers of children's homes made £300m profit last year. "Why would you privatise the care of young people? If you privatise everything, we're in a really bad situation."

There is something so bracingly uncompromising about Morton, and she has an eye on the wider issues - it has never just been about her. In some ways, this helped - she instinctively understood from a young age that none of what she went through was her fault. "I was almost caught up in someone else's tornado," she says. "I was kind of collateral damage." But I still don't know how she survived (personally, she seems incredibly happy, and is married with three children). She has had "lots and lots" of counselling, she says; the drugs she took as a teenager, particularly psychedelic drugs (now being researched as treatments for depression), may have had a therapeutic effect, she thinks. "I've dabbled and experimented with all sorts of ways to heal trauma, because there must be trauma."

Faith helped - a mix of the Catholicism of her childhood, and other spiritual elements she has picked up. She feels loved, she says. "I have a huge amount of love for people and the world. I never felt hate." Mostly she feels very lucky. "I count my blessings each day. My family might think I'm a bit weird, but I always go: 'Let's just have a moment. How lucky are we right now?'" She smiles, face lighting up. "It can get a bit annoying."

The Serpent Queen starts on 11 September on Starz Play

I've dabbled and experimented in all sort of ways to heal trauma - because there must be trauma



A brush with greatness

She's only 29 yet her paintings have already been scooped up by the Tate and sold for over £1m. Now Jadé Fadojutimi is thinking even bigger. She talks colour visions, lipstick and anime with **Alex Needham**

A corrugated metal door rattles open and Jadé Fadojutimi appears. She welcomes me inside, as the sun beats down on the south London industrial estate where she keeps a studio. Spirit, an ambient album by Atom Music Audio, booms from the speakers. Two rococo settees sit beside a table bearing a bottle of sake, surrounded by an extravagant display of pot plants. And propped against the walls are her enormous, immersive, gloriously colourful new paintings, destined for Hepworth Wakefield in Yorkshire this month.

The show, she explains, is Super Colour Green, inspired by

a book by Peter Wohlleben called *The Heartbeat of Trees*, "about our senses and relationships to colour and how where you grow up determines the colours you can see and your colour sensitivity". Fadojutimi believes she has synaesthesia (although "there's no test for it"), where other forms of stimulation bring on visions of colour. "I'm not one of those people who reads and then the words change colour, but when I feel emotion, I see a colour and that's how my paintings come to life."

These pictures, which exist in a thrilling mid-point between the abstract and the figurative, have made Fadojutimi hot property. Still only 29, she is the youngest artist to have a work collected by the Tate (*I Present Your Royal Highness*, from 2018), while last October, on consecutive nights, two of her paintings were bought at auction for more than £1m each – one, *Myths of Pleasure*, went for 15 times its estimate. "I don't know what it means and I don't want to know what it means," Fadojutimi said the following month about her work's rocketing commercial value so early in her career. This year, she became represented by Gagosian, gallery of the billionaire art dealer Larry Gagosian, alongside artists such as Damien Hirst and Takashi Murakami, which

seemed to confirm her entry into art's superleague.

"Is that how these things work? You tell me!" she laughs. "I wanted to be with a gallery that I felt represented my potential, and I also wanted to inspire younger people and not let them feel afraid to be with such a big gallery because why not reach for that higher thing? Especially as a Black woman."

This sense of ambition is manifested in an enormous, green, paint-splattered, three-panel painting she's working on when I visit. It will be the centrepiece of the Hepworth show. "When I was in university" – London's Royal College of Art – "the only thing I wanted to do was make big paintings. I felt limited by every space I've had until now." Happily, she now has a second studio "down the road, which is three times the size of this one", and is able to "spill on to a surface" in the way that she's always dreamed of.

For Fadojutimi, painting is intense, both physically and emotionally. Her studio environment is arranged so that she can get into the deep state of introspection she needs to paint, thinking about her school and early life, history, or how she feels about what's happening in the world. Then she dances and runs at the canvas, scales ladders, cries,

and sometimes breaks off to write in her diary. She works on her own, through the night, with her favourite soundtracks blasting out, and sometimes she can finish a painting in a single night if she feels gripped. "It becomes a force that just takes over," she says. "I always want to call it witchcraft." Then, in the morning, she goes home to bed and her assistants come to get the studio ready so she can start again.

Fadojutimi grew up in Ilford, east London, the eldest of three girls. Her mum is a civil servant, her dad a management consultant. The first artwork she can remember is a Monet print in the family home. She still loves Monet, as well as Cézanne, David Hockney and the American abstract artist Joan Mitchell – all masters of colour. She has always had an unusually ardent response to particular hues. "We used to have yellow double-decker buses in Ilford and I never wanted to get on the red bus. I had to get on the yellow bus because yellow meant something to me in an abstract way." Her favourite colour is green, but she has a passion for many more, all of which conjure up particular associations. "I find it interesting that I'm hooked on this teal lipstick," she says. "Every time I wear it, I feel more myself."

At the age of five, Fadojutimi started watching *Sailor Moon*, a

Japanese animation on the Fox Kids channel, which she describes as an “Aha!” moment. Then when she was 12, a friend told her that all 200 episodes were available online. “And that was where my rabbit hole began.” Fadojutimi got hugely into anime, much to the mystification of her parents. “As a child I was quite depressed, and watching those stories made me feel that it was OK to delve into the depth of emotion and not feel that it was a crime.”

Anime is still the primary influence in Fadojutimi’s paintings, an obsession that has led her to learn Japanese, visit the country several times a year, discover its artists, such as her favourite Makiko Kudo, go to fan conventions, and do cosplay in Lolita-style garb – a subculture that is, she notes with some understatement, “controversial sometimes. But there was something that was also, for me as a woman, quite feminist about it. It was almost my armour.”

Anime also seemed to have almost nothing to do with her own upbringing as a Black British woman of Nigerian heritage. Yet Fadojutimi is insistent about her right to express herself as she is, rather than have to represent someone else’s idea of Blackness. “There’s been a lot of people look at my work and say it doesn’t look like I’m Black. And I think, ‘Well, question that statement.’ My practice rejects labels and celebrates individuality without contextualising someone into a category.”

That said, one of the first feelings she tapped into at art school was the sense of displacement she

experienced from straddling two cultures: “Going outside my home and being British – and going home and being Nigerian.” Her work mines her identity, but race is not the defining factor.

The paintings bound for Hepworth Wakefield are inspired by feelings of displacement, too: “Thinking back to that day when it was 40 degrees, I wanted to have a conversation with nature.” She wanted to see whether a painting could express a life force in the same way a tree does. To elaborate, she reads from her diary: “With the world as it is I cry for their souls too. They live with us and yet are they even appreciated? It can be difficult to feel in a world where they burn.”

There were other challenges now expressed in the paintings. Fadojutimi says that the pandemic “changed my mental health”. Last year, things reached crisis point. “I just wrote a book really quickly one day and forgot to sleep.” She laughs. “And everyone was like, ‘Oh no, something must be wrong.’”

In fact, Fadojutimi had been working for a few nights without sleeping, “because I enjoyed being an artist”. But, presumably worried, doctors stepped in – an intervention still not welcomed by the artist. “Everyone had this fear that I was different, and I was like, ‘Of course I’m different – how do you think I make these paintings?’”

Fadojutimi worries that if she is medicated, she will no longer be able to access the emotions that inspire her work. “I’m neurodiverse, I know that, I have a nice list of characteristics. There’s a lot of people who will tell you that there’s this statistic and that statistic and maybe we should medicate you to stop you ever falling into a statistic and I will fight back saying, ‘I’ve been myself for 29 years, I’m just me. Why are you giving me medicine that means I can’t feel?’ I’d rather drink my green tea and watch my diet. I’d be talking to health professionals in the studio and I’d be crying and saying, ‘Art is therapy too.’”

Fadojutimi insists “painting’s always been my saviour” – the way that she makes sense of herself and the world. She says the paintings are her diary, expressing trauma and pain, but also joyful connections with other people, and with nature, which is probably why they resonate so widely, not just with the art world but with young fans. She is often stopped in the street by people who say how much they love her paintings.

One hopes the Gagosian, and all the other people around her, can give her the care she needs. But in relation to her artistic purpose, Fadojutimi is crystal clear. When she thinks about the pandemic and all the suffering it brought, she says: “I think about how privileged I am as an artist to be able to come to the studio and feel like I can breathe. I hope other people can look at my work and feel like they can breathe for a moment too.” *Jadé Fadojutimi is at Hepworth Wakefield from 16 September to 19 March 2023.*

I said, ‘Of course I’m different, how do you think I make these paintings?’



I Present Your Royal Highness, 2018

My best shot

Steven Klein

‘We did a shoot with sex dolls, to go with an article about people seeming artificial. But they looked like real models – so I went over and ripped off their faces’



This is from a series of suburbia pictures I did for American Vogue. Anna Wintour, Vogue’s editor-in-chief, calls them “stoppers” – one or two images in the magazine that illustrate an idea. This one was for a story about the fear of ageing. At that time, in 2012, everyone was getting injections: Botox, fillers, things like that. It was the beginning of this idea of enhancing the body, but before the boom in butt implants. People were starting to look artificial.

I had to convince Phyllis Posnick, the fashion editor, of my idea. We didn’t tell Anna. I didn’t want to use mannequins and the closest thing I could find were these realistic sex dolls, which I’d used once before for a shoot for Tom Ford. There’s a company in Los Angeles that makes them. They weigh about 70 kilos, so we had to wheel them around. They’re not easy to manipulate either. If you look closely, you’ll see I purposely made their fingers very crooked, so people would understand they weren’t real.

Phyllis and I set up the dolls at a house in New York state. But they just looked like the models who were in fashion at the time, sitting in chairs. It wasn’t working, so I went over and ripped off their faces. Phyllis nearly had a nervous breakdown, saying “Anna will never go for this” because it was too “out there”, or could be offensive. But I always try to push it without getting the picture killed. Sometimes, though, I do get the picture killed. I thought they looked more exciting with their faces off. In another picture, we had one of the dolls holding its own face. We made two or three photos – and liked them.

People get very confused about my work. They describe it as dark, but I don’t consider it dark or depressing. It’s not meant to make anyone feel sad. I want people to laugh: this photo is a play on a suburban woman sitting at home doing nothing. It’s poking fun at the kind of people who spend their days getting massages to make their butts look better. My pictures are signs of our times.

The CV

Born Rhode Island, New England, USA, 1965.

Trained ‘Painting degree at Rhode Island School of Design. Self-taught in photography.’

Influences ‘Diane Arbus, Guy Bourdin, Irving Penn.’

High point ‘The first time I worked with Madonna, she used my video pieces to open her concerts.’

Low point ‘The day before a shoot with Naomi Campbell, someone broke into the studio and stole all my equipment and all the clothes.’

Top tip: ‘Dig deep inside to find out what you want to say.’



glorifying or idealising what is a facade, or fake beauty. Idealised images are harmful to people – deceiving them with the idea that people actually look like that. It’s like the false advertising in the 1950s that sold cigarettes. I always feel my job is to report some of the truth.

Interview by Graeme Green. Steven Klein is published by Phaidon on 22 September.

Gavin Drea as
Stefan (right)
with newlyweds
Callie Cooke and
Bhav Joshi



Review Wedding Season,
Disney+

Fast and furious fun that shows just how toxic marriage can be

★★★★☆

Lucy Mangan



Personally, I hate going to weddings so much (gotta shower, dress up, go to a place, then another place, gotta fake emotion or, even worse, feel it) that attending one in which almost the entire bridal party ends up fatally poisoned on the top table is quite an attractive proposition.

Thus I was set to enjoy Disney+'s first UK original series, Wedding Season, in which a murder by ingested toxin - probably via a disappointing chicken kiev - is the inciting incident.

First, though - thanks to a jittery flashback structure - we meet our hero Stefan (Gavin Drea) as he interrupts the wedding of Hugo Delaney (George Webster) and Katie (Rosa Salazar), the woman he has been having an affair with ever since they met at another wedding three months before. We will see them meet after we have seen the bit that comes after the not-quite-present that is him interrupting his inamorata's wedding, if you follow me? If you don't, good. I am trying to convey the fact that Wedding Season is chaotic in both form and content from the off, and warn you of the level of investment that is going to be required from viewers if you decide to say "I do" to Oliver Lyttelton's eight-part creation.

Onward. We next see Stefan in a police interview room. He is being interviewed by officers as - he is startled to learn - the prime suspect, along with the missing Katie, in the murder of Hugo and seven other

Delaneys at the wedding breakfast. (I forgot to mention - Stefan's intervention failed to persuade her to call the whole thing off and she married her posho fiancé anyway.)

Viewers might soon come to consider that - potential murder charges aside - Stefan has had a lucky escape, because the more we see of Katie over the next few flashbacks, episodes and hours, the clearer it becomes that she is somewhere between tricky irritant and full-scale blight on humanity. It depends on your tolerance for manic pixie dream girls with added 2022 cynicism. Mine is low.

Katie is effortfully, exhaustingly kooky. She steals people's phones at parties when she gets bored, spins a web of lies around herself and pulls in hapless flies such as Stefan to add substance to them. She thinks herself a streetwise tough nut but says things such as "You have to take a leap of faith" and can't spot a patent double-cross at 50 paces, refuses to explain things she knows and is simply, indefinitely, annoying.

This makes it hard to care when she - in essence - kidnaps Stefan, a doctor who really should have his medical licence revoked for being so hapless, and forces him to go on the lam with her, across the UK and the US, to clear their names - amid more flashbacks to more weddings and engagement parties at which their paths crossed.

It's a frenetic blend of romcom, road movie and action thriller but suffers from the truth of the adage that when you try to be all things to all people, you become nothing to anyone. The mashing together of different genres, putting tropes from each back to back without either one illuminating or putting a twist on the other, leads it to become less rather than more than the sum of its parts.

Taken at a superficial level - and I do appreciate that no one was aiming for Edge of Darkness or Heimat here - it just about gets away with it, skating by on Drea's charm and the relatable happiness and horror of being part of a gang of friends in your late 20s who are all on the brink of making the kind of decisions that can, for good or ill, shape the rest of your lives. Especially if, like Suji (Ioanna Kimbook) - a sort of Bridget Jones-ish throwback, single and shrouded in desperation for a man - you blindly chat up underage boys in your bid to follow your sister down the aisle. (No, it wouldn't be playable for laughs if it were a man chatting up an underage girl. Why? Send a postcard to the usual address if you need me to explain the workings of comedy within specific sociocultural context again.)

Wedding Season is an ambitious undertaking that might fail at what it's trying to do but remains entertaining enough. Those who like their fun fast and furious and don't want to decree nisi Katie as soon as she appears will no doubt have a better time still.

Stuck 10pm, BBC Two



Created and written by Dylan Moran, here is a new five-part comedy-drama in punchy 15-minute episodes (a TV trend that seems to be catching on). Dan (Moran) and Carla (Morgana Robinson) are a couple with terrific chemistry, but - with Dan's recent redundancy, Carla's questions about what the future holds and an age gap that is becoming more apparent - they are at a crossroads. In tonight's double bill, job-seeking Dan grows jealous of a waiter at his local cafe who seems to know Carla well.

Hollie Richardson

Ambulance 9pm, BBC One

The Christopher Eccleston-narrated ambulance series that you sometimes can't believe is real life continues - starting with an air ambulance flying down the A1, where a car has crashed and fallen from a flyover. Then, a heartbreaking look at the reality of the social care crisis, as an elderly woman pleads for help. **HR**

All That Glitters: Britain's Next Jewellery Star 9pm, BBC Two

The six contestants hoping to shine like a diamond are asked to reinvent the classic pearl necklace for the bestseller task tonight. For the bespoke challenge, they must create a charm bracelet. One clear winner: judge Shaun Leane with his wonderful "Del Boy on the Riviera" outfit. **HR**

Katie Price: Trauma and Me 9pm, Channel 4

It is perhaps easy to be sceptical about Price's recent suspended sentence for her sixth driving conviction in a

decade, but in this candid documentary she aims to explain how mental health issues drove her to breaking point. **HR**

Mercury Prize 2022 With Free Now: Album of the Year 9pm, BBC Four

Lauren Laverne hosts this year's (rather cumbrously titled, but thank you, sponsors) Mercury prize, also broadcast on BBC 6 Music. Confirmed performances include the dream team of Jessie Buckley and Bernard Butler, the marvellous Wet Leg and the sublime Scottish pianist Fergus McCreadie. **Ali Catterall**

The Russell Howard Hour 10.30pm, Sky Max

Nobody can compute the scale of Britain's imminent malaise, but these comedians taking a sideways look will have a good go. It's hard to know what more there is to say, but the ever-energetic Howard is back to try, with a sixth season of his mix of standup, interviews and current affairs roundups. **Jack Seale**

And
another
thing

I have decided
to watch the
Joe Lycett/
Laura
Kuenssberg
interview on
a restorative
loop until
things improve



BBC One

6.0 **Breakfast** (T) **9.15** Morning Live (T) **10.0** Maximum Security (T) **10.45** Claimed and Shamed (T) **11.15** Homes Under the Hammer (T) **12.15** Bargain Hunt (T) (R) **1.0** News (T) **1.30** Regional News and Weather (T) **1.45** Doctors (T) **2.15** Money for Nothing (T) (R) **3.0** Escape to the Country (T) **3.45** Garden Rescue (T) (R) **4.30** The Bidding Room (T) **5.15** Pointless (T) (R) **6.0** News (T) **6.30** Regional News and Weather (T) **7.0** The One Show (T) **7.30** EastEnders (T)

8.0 **Celebrity MasterChef** (T) The semi-finals continue as Mary Berry asks the contenders to recreate one of her signature recipes, then they have to cook a meal dedicated to the Queen. **9.0** **Ambulance** (T) Tracy takes a distressing call from an old woman who can no longer care for her husband alone.

10.0 **News** (T) **10.30** **Regional News** (T) Weather **10.40** **Red Rose** (R) The friends are being attacked on all fronts. **11.15** **Red Rose** (T) (R) The group face a dilemma they could never have imagined. **11.55** **News**cast (T) A weekly roundup from Westminster. **12.30** **Weather for the Week Ahead** (T) **12.35** News (T)

BBC Two

6.30 **Money for Nothing** (T) (R) **7.15** The Bidding Room (T) (R) **8.0** Sign Zone: Gardeners' World (T) (R) **9.0** News (T) **12.15** Politics Live (T) **1.0** Chase the Case (T) (R) **1.45** Eggheads (T) (R) **2.15** Glorious Gardens from Above (T) (R) **3.0** Flipping Profit (T) (R) **3.45** Wanted: A Simple Life (T) (R) **4.30** Murder, Mystery and My Family (T) (R) **5.15** Flog It! (T) (R) **6.0** Diamond League: Zurich (T) Live coverage of day two of the final meeting of the season.

8.0 **Saving Lives at Sea** (T) In Lyme Regis, the crew face a frantic search for three fishermen whose boat has capsized in the River Axe. **9.0** **All That Glitters: Britain's Next Jewellery Star** (T) Six up-and-coming jewellers are told to make a pearl chain necklace and a bespoke charm bracelet.

10.0 **Stuck** (T) Comedy written by and starring Dylan Moran. **10.30** **Newsnight** (T) Weather **11.15** **Cricket: Today at the Test** (T) (R) England v South Africa **12.20** **Days That Shook the BBC With David Dimbleby** (T) (R) **1.20** Sign Zone: Fake Or Fortune? (T) (R) **2.20** Weatherman Walking (T) (R) **2.50** This Is BBC Two (T)

ITV

6.0 **Good Morning Britain** (T) **9.0** Lorraine (T) **10.0** This Morning (T) **12.30** Loose Women (T) **1.30** News and Weather (T) **1.55** Local News and Weather (T) **2.0** Dickinson's Real Deal (T) (R) **3.0** Tenable (T) (R) **4.0** Tipping Point (T) **5.0** The Chase (T) **6.0** Local News and Weather (T) **6.30** News and Weather (T) **7.30** Emmerdale (T)

8.30 **Tonight: Pulling Teeth - The End of NHS Dentistry?** (T) Daniel Hewitt investigates the crisis at the heart of the UK's dental service. **9.0** **Police, Camera, Murder** (T) New series. Unprecedented access reveals the critical role that digital forensics has in modern murder investigations.

10.0 **News** (T) Weather **10.30** **Local News** (T) Weather **10.45** **The Late Debate** (T) **11.10** **Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?** (T) (R) **12.10** **All Elite Wrestling: Rampage** (T) **1.05** Shop: Ideal World **3.0** Save Money: Lose Weight (T) (R) **3.50** Unwind With ITV (T) **5.05** Garraway's Good Stuff (T) (R)

Channel 4

6.10 **Countdown** (T) (R) **6.50** 3rd Rock from the Sun (T) (R) **7.40** Everybody Loves Raymond (T) (R) **9.0** Frasier (T) (R) **10.30** Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmares USA (T) (R) **11.25** News (T) **11.30** The Great House Giveaway (T) (R) **12.30** Steph's Packed Lunch (T) **2.10** Countdown (T) **3.0** A Place in the Sun (T) (R) **4.0** Chateau DIY (T) **5.0** Moneybags (T) **6.0** The Simpsons (T) (R) **6.30** Hollyoaks (T) (R) **7.0** News (T)

8.0 **George Clarke's Old House, New Home** (T) In Weymouth, Dorset, the architect helps a couple whose family home was destroyed overnight by a flash flood. **9.0** **Katie Price: Trauma and Me** (T) The model and reality TV star reflects on events that saw her nearly get sent to prison after a car crash.

10.0 **Naked Attraction** (T) **11.05** **Embarrassing Bodies** (T) (R) **12.05** **Kitchen Nightmares USA** (T) (R) **1.0** Finding the Cornish Dream (T) (R) **1.50** George Clarke's Old House, New Home (T) (R) **2.45** **FILM** The Shepherdess and the Seven Songs (2020) **4.25** Couples Come Dine With Me (T) (R) **5.15** The Dog House (T) (R)

Channel 5

6.0 **Milkshake!** **9.15** Jeremy Vine (T) **12.45** Holiday Homes in the Sun (T) **1.40** News (T) **1.45** Home and Away (T) **2.15** **FILM** Lies Between Friends (Ann Forry, 2022) (T) **4.0** Bargain-Loving Brits in the Sun (T) (R) **5.0** News (T) **6.0** Cash in the Attic (T) **6.55** News (T) **7.0** Inside Sainsbury's: Britain's Oldest Supermarket (T) (R) **7.55** News (T)

8.0 **Secrets of Your Supermarket Shop** (T) Angellica Bell tests kitchen gadgets and Alexis Conran finds out how people can drive more efficiently. **9.0** **The Great Smog: Winter of '52** (T) A look back at the fear that paralysed London as the disaster entered day three, focusing on the government's lack of action.

10.0 **Ben Fogle: New Lives in the Wild** (T) (R) **11.05** **Police: Night Shift 999** (R) **12.05** **Motorway Cops** (T) (R) **1.0** The Live Casino Show (T) **3.05** The Nile: Egypt's Great River (T) (R) **3.55** Empire Journey (T) (R) **4.45** Atlantic (T) (R) **5.30** Peppa Pig (T) (R) **5.35** Paw Patrol (T) (R) **5.50** Fireman Sam (T) (R)

BBC Four

7.0 **Cricket: Today at the Test** (T) (R) England v South Africa. Action from day one of the series-concluding third Test, held at the Oval.

8.05 **Lucy Worsley's Royal Palace Secrets** (T) (R) The historian goes behind closed doors at three treasure-filled royal palaces. **9.0** **Mercury Prize 2022 With Free Now: Album of the Year** (T) Lauren Laverne introduces coverage of the annual music event from the Apollo theatre in London.

10.15 **FILM** **This Is Spinal Tap** (Rob Reiner, 1984) (T) Spoof documentary, starring Michael McKean, Christopher Guest and Harry Shearer. **11.35** **The Hidden Wilds of the Motorway** (T) (R) **1.05** **Dylan Thomas: A Poet's Guide** (T) (R) **2.05** Royal Palace Secrets (T) (R) **3.0** Art of Scandinavia (T) (R)

Other channels

BBC Three

7.0pm Sky High Club: Scotland and Beyond **7.30** MOTDx **8.0** Diamond League: Zurich **8.58** The Catch Up **9.0** The Rap Game UK **10.0** People Just Do Nothing **11.30** Squad Goals: Britain's Youngest Football Boss **12.0** The Rap Game UK **1.0** MOTDx **1.30** Sky High Club: Scotland and Beyond **2.0** Dubai Hustle **2.30** People Just Do Nothing

Dave

6.0am Teleshopping **7.10** Yianni: Supercar Customiser **7.35** Yianni: Supercar Customiser **8.0** Border Force: America's Gatekeepers **9.0** Storage Hunters UK **9.30** Storage Hunters UK **10.0** Cop Car Workshop **11.0** Expedition With Steve Backshall **12.0** Bangers and Cash **1.0** Border Force: America's Gatekeepers **2.0** Top Gear **3.0** Rick Stein's Long Weekends **4.0** Top Gear **5.0** Rick Stein's Secret France **6.0** Taskmaster **7.0** Richard Osman's House of Games **7.40** Room 101 **8.20** Room 101 **9.0** Q! XL **10.0** Late Night Mash **11.0** Q! XL **12.0** Mock the Week **12.45** Q! **1.20** Q! XL **2.30** Room 101 **4.0** Teleshopping

E4

6.0am Hollyoaks **7.0** Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmares USA **8.0** Black-ish **9.0** How I Met Your Mother **10.0** The Big Bang Theory **11.0** Young Sheldon **12.0** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **1.0** The Big Bang Theory **3.0** Young Sheldon **4.0** Married at First Sight UK **5.05** The Big Bang Theory **7.0** Hollyoaks **7.30** The Big Bang Theory **8.0** Lego Masters **9.0** Married at First Sight UK **10.15** Dirty House Rescue: Queens of Clean **11.15** Gogglebox **12.20** Married at First Sight UK **1.35** Rick and Morty **2.05** Tuca & Bertie **2.30** Dirty House Rescue: Queens of Clean **3.20** Below Deck: Mediterranean **4.10** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **4.55** Baby Daddy

Film4

11.0am **FILM** The Desperados (1969) Western, starring Jack Palance. **12.50** **FILM** 12 Angry Men (1957) Legal drama, starring Henry Fonda. **2.45** **FILM** Freedom Radio (1940) Second world war drama, starring Clive Brook. **4.35** **FILM** The Black Arrow (1948) Swashbuckling adventure, starring Louis Hayward. **6.15**

FILM Catch Me If You Can (2002) Fact-based drama, starring Leonardo DiCaprio and Tom Hanks. **9.0** **FILM** Chaos (2005) Crime thriller, starring Jason Statham and Wesley Snipes. **11.10** **FILM** Fantasy Island (2020) Horror comedy, starring Michael Peña. **1.20** **FILM** Bacurau (2019) Mystery, starring Barbara Colen.

ITV2

6.0am World's Funniest Videos **6.25** World's Funniest Videos **7.0** Love Bites **8.0** Dress to Impress **9.0** Veronica Mars **10.0** One Tree Hill **11.0** Hart of Dixie **12.0** Supermarket Sweep **1.0** The Masked Singer US **3.05** Veronica Mars **4.0** One Tree Hill **5.0** Hart of Dixie **6.0** Celebrity Catchphrase **7.0** Superstore **7.30** Superstore **8.0** Bob's Burgers **8.30** Bob's Burgers **9.0** Gordon, Gino and Fred: American Road Trip **10.0** Shopping With Keith Lemon **10.30** Family Guy **11.0** Family Guy **11.30** American Dad! **11.55** American Dad! **12.25** Bob's Burgers **12.50** Bob's Burgers **1.20** Superstore **1.45** Superstore **2.15** All American **3.0** Teleshopping

Sky Max

6.0am Stargate SG-1 **8.0** The Flash **9.0** DC's Legends of Tomorrow **10.0** Supergirl **11.0** NCIS: New Orleans **1.0** Hawaii Five-0 **2.0** MacGyver **3.0** DC's Legends of Tomorrow **4.0** The Flash **5.0** Supergirl **6.0** Stargate SG-1 **8.0** An Idiot Abroad **2.9** A League of Their Own **10.0** Football's Funniest Moments **10.30** The Russell Howard Hour **11.15** Cobra: Cyberwar **12.15** Road Wars **1.10** The Force: North East **2.05** Brit Cops **3.0** Hawaii Five-0 **4.0** MacGyver **5.0** Highway Patrol

Sky Arts

6.0am Joseph Calleja: Lead Me Home **7.10** LSO: Sir Simon Rattle Conducts Bruckner and Messiaen **9.0** Tales of the Unexpected **10.0** Alfred Hitchcock Presents **11.0** Discovering: Gregory Peck **12.0** Van Gogh & Japan **1.0** Tales of the Unexpected **2.0** Landscape Artist of the Year National Trust Favourites **3.0** Portrait Artist of the Year 2014 **4.0** Discovering: Claudia Cardinale **5.0** Tales of the Unexpected **6.0** Alfred Hitchcock Presents **7.0** Wonderland: From JM Barrie to JRR Tolkien

8.0 Rudyard Kipling: A Secret Life **9.0** Comedy Legends: Bob Newhart **10.0** Discovering: Al Pacino **11.0** Alfred Hitchcock Presents **12.0** Berlin Live: Sparks **1.20** Classic Literature & Cinema **2.20** I Am Steve McQueen **4.10** The Art of Architecture **5.05** Cheltenham Literature Festival

Sky Atlantic

6.0am Richard E Grant's Hotel Secrets **7.45** Boardwalk Empire **10.0** The Sopranos **12.15** Six Feet Under **2.25** Game of Thrones **3.30** Boardwalk Empire **5.45** Sopranos **7.55** Game of Thrones **9.0** House of the Dragon **10.05** I Hate Suzie **10.50** The Staircase **12.05** Gangs of London **1.10** Landscapers **2.0** Munich Games **4.0** Richard E Grant's Hotel Secrets



Radio

Radio 3

6.30am Breakfast **9.0** Essential Classics **12.0** Composer of the Week: Schubert (4/5) **1.0** Lunchtime Concert. The Northern Ireland Opera Festival of Voice 2022. **2.0** Afternoon Concert. The 23 August Prom, with Zubin Mehta conducting the Australian World Orchestra in Webern, Debussy and Brahms. **5.0** In Tune **7.0** In Tune Mixtape **7.30** BBC Proms 2022: Prom 70. Yannick Nézet-Séguin conducts the Philadelphia Orchestra and soprano Angel Blue in Barber's Knoxville: Summer of 1915, Valerie Coleman's This Is Not a Small Voice and Beethoven's Symphony No 3 in E flat. **10.0** Between the Ears: Telling the Bees (R) **10.45** The Way I See It (R) **11.0** Great String Quartets at Edinburgh **12.30** Through the Night

Radio 4

6.0am Today **8.31** (LW) Yesterday in Parliament **9.0** Positive Thinking **9.30** The Bear Next Door (R) **9.45** (LW) Daily Service **9.45** (FM) Fatwa (R) **10.0** Woman's Hour **10.25** (LW) TMS:

England v South Africa - Third Test Day One **11.0** (FM) Crossing Continents (7/9) **11.30** (FM) My Space. Personal accounts of famous buildings, starting with the Blackpool Tower. **12.0** (FM) News **12.01** (LW) Shipping Forecast **12.04** (LW) TMS **12.04** (FM) You and Yours **12.30** (FM) All Consuming (3/10) **12.57** (FM) Weather **1.0** (FM) The World at One **1.45** (FM) Bhopal. Keswani decides he must get the attention of lawmakers. (4/5) **2.0** (FM) The Archers (R) **2.15** (FM) Faith, Hope and Glory: Faith. Drama, by Carol Russell. (3/3) **3.0** (FM) Ramblings. A walk in Dovedale with the listener known as Caravan. (2/6) **3.27** (FM) Radio 4 Appeal (R) **3.30** (FM) Bookclub (R) **4.0** (FM) The Curious Cases of Rutherford & Fry (R) **4.30** (FM) Inside Science **5.0** (FM) PM **5.54** (LW) Shipping Forecast **5.57** (LW) TMS **5.57** (FM) Weather **6.0** (FM) News **6.30** (FM) Michael Spicer: Before Next Door (R) **7.0** The Archers **7.15** Front Row **8.0** The Briefing Room (9/15) **8.30** The Digital Human (R) **9.0** Inside Science (R) **9.30** Positive Thinking (R) **10.0** The

World Tonight **10.45** Book at Bedtime (4/10) **11.0** Your Place Or Mine (6/10) **11.30** Today in Parliament **12.0** News **12.30** Fatwa (R) **12.48** Shipping Forecast **1.0** As World Service **5.20** Shipping Forecast **5.30** News **5.43** Prayer for the Day **5.45** Farming Today **5.58** Tweet of the Day **Radio 4 Extra** **6.0am** Some Mother's Son (4/6) **6.30** An Ice Cream War (4/5) **7.0** The Tim Vine Chat Show (4/4) **7.30** Edinburgh Comedy Awards Nominee Gala 2022 (2/2) **8.0** The Small, Intricate Life of Gerald C Potter (3/6) **8.30** No Commitments (1/6) **9.0** The Personality Test (5/6) **9.30** Trevor's World of Sport (2/6) **10.0** The Last of the Mohicans (1/2) **11.0** Desert Island Discs (8/14) **11.45** David Attenborough's Life Stories **12.0** The Small, Intricate Life of Gerald C Potter (3/6) **12.30** No Commitments (1/6) **1.0** Some Mother's Son (4/6) **1.30** An Ice Cream War (4/5) **2.0** The History of Brazil Is Round (4/5) **2.15** Betsy and Napoleon (4/5) **2.30** The Parrot Sketch **3.0** The Last of the Mohicans (1/2) **4.0** The Personality Test

(5/6) **4.30** Trevor's World of Sport (2/6) **5.0** The Tim Vine Chat Show (4/4) **5.30** The Edinburgh Comedy Awards Nominee Gala 2022 (2/2) **6.0** Journey Into Space: Operation Luna (10/13) **6.30** Great Lives (7/9) **7.0** The Small, Intricate Life of Gerald C Potter (3/6) **7.30** No Commitments (1/6) **8.0** Some Mother's Son (4/6) **8.30** An Ice Cream War (4/5) **9.0** Desert Island Discs (8/14) **9.45** David Attenborough's Life Stories **10.0** Edinburgh Comedy Awards Nominee Gala 2022 (2/2) **10.30** Craig Brown's Lost Diaries (3/6) **11.0** The Consultants (5/6) **11.30** Tom Wrighglessworth's Hang-Ups (4/4) **12.0** Journey Into Space (10/13) **12.30** Great Lives (7/9) **1.0** Some Mother's Son (4/6) **1.30** An Ice Cream War (4/5) **2.0** The History of Brazil Is Round (4/5) **2.15** Betsy and Napoleon (4/5) **2.30** The Parrot Sketch **3.0** The Last of the Mohicans (1/2) **4.0** The Personality Test (5/6) **4.30** Trevor's World of Sport (2/6) **5.0** The Tim Vine Chat Show (4/4) **5.30** Edinburgh Comedy Awards Nominee Gala 2022 (2/2)

Yesterday's solutions

Wordsearch

T	N	A	R	G	N	F	K	W
B	U	S	H	E	T	N	Y	A
W	V	X	D	A	L	S	D	E
E	I	I	Y	O	C	A	E	N
L	B	L	C	I	M	S	N	I
T	O	N	S	S	E	C	N	X
R	I	F	A	O	U	A	E	O
L	I	E	O	G	N	R	K	N
R	U	H	T	R	A	T	L	G
O	B	A	M	A	D	E	M	S
T	H	O	O	V	E	R	R	E

Solution no 16,329

I	N	G	R	I	D	B	E	R	G	M	A	N
O	R	S	O	U	E	O						
N	E	A	R	I	N	G	M	O	T	E	T	
	M	S	A	I	R	O						
P	U	P	A	G	R	A	N	D	E	U	R	
R	U	L	T	A								
A	S	S	A	I	L	S	T	U	D	I	O	
N		M	A	E	E	U						
K	E	Y	L	A	R	G	O	A	C	E	S	
S	U	S	O	C	I							
T	O	M	E	S	U	N	A	I	D	E	D	
E	M	O	T	L	E	Y						
R	O	Y	A	L	A	I	R	F	O	R	C	E

Sudoku no 5,777

6	1	9	2	3	8	7	5	4
8	2	7	5	4	6	9	1	3
4	5	3	9	7	1	6	8	2
3	4	8	6	9	7	5	2	1
5	9	2	4	1	3	8	6	7
1	7	6	8	5	2	4	3	9
2	3	5	7	8	9	1	4	6
9	6	4	1	2	5	3	7	8
7	8	1	3	6	4	2	9	5

Word wheel
FORGETFUL

Suguru

4	2	3	1	3	2
3	1	4	2	4	1
4	2	3	1	3	2
1	5	4	2	5	1
3	2	1	3	4	2
1	4	5	2	1	3

Quick crossword no 16,330

- Across
- 1 Puckered (6)

4 Songbird with streaky brown plumage (5)

7 Pouch on a belt (6)

8 Lend a hand (6)

9 Layer of spinal cartilage (4)

10 Draw closer (8)

12 Literal king (anag) - Jack, for example (5-6)

17 Explosively unstable (8)

19 Convulsive catching of breath (4)

20 Niche (6)

21 Accept as a challenge (6)

22 In many cases (5)

23 Pawnbrokers? (6)
- Down
- 1 Raining heavily (7)

2 Sunnybrook Farm girl (7)

3 Home of Warwickshire County Cricket Club (9)

4 Difficult question (5)

5 Confidential - Tommy? (7)

6 Irritable (6)

11 Ivy League university, chartered in 1746 (9)

13 Unlawful (7)

14 Rational (7)

15 Consequences (7)

16 Exaggerate (6)

18 Malicious fire-raising (5)

	1		2		3			4		5		6
7							8					
9					10		11					
	12	13							14		15	
16												
17				18					19			
20							21					
22						23						

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Sudoku no 5,778

Hard. Fill the grid so that each row, column and 3x3 box contains the numbers 1-9. Printable version at theguardian.com/sudoku

		2	8			
3				4	2	
		1			8	
	1				4	
	3	5		9		7
9					3	2
1	5			3	9	
6		3		1		
	9	2	8			5

Suguru

Fill the grid so that each square in an outlined block contains a digit. A block of 2 squares contains the digits 1 and 2, a block of three squares contains the digits 1, 2 and 3, and so on. No same digit appears in neighbouring squares, not even diagonally.

3					
					4
4	2		4		

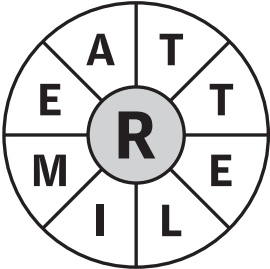
Wordsearch

Can you find 15 words associated with athletics in the grid? Words can run forwards, backwards, vertically or diagonally, but always in a straight, unbroken line.

C	S	H	G	Y	H	K	N	N
J	I	Z	M	A	S	I	E	O
E	L	R	M	U	L	D	B	I
T	V	M	C	E	I	S	A	T
A	E	E	V	U	H	D	T	A
R	R	A	U	E	I	R	O	N
E	J	E	M	Z	G	T	N	P
N	S	O	G	N	R	T	E	C
A	D	O	L	O	T	S	I	P
R	L	A	P	R	E	L	A	Y
D	I	S	N	B	L	O	C	K

Word wheel

Find as many words as possible using the letters in the wheel. Each must use the central letter and at least two others. Letters may be used only once. You may not use plurals, foreign words or proper nouns. There is at least one nine-letter word to be found. TARGET: Excellent-76. Good-63. Average-46.



Pet corner

Which of these actors who played the Joker named their dog Soda?
a. Heath Ledger
b. Joaquin Phoenix
c. Jack Nicholson
d. Jared Leto
Answer top right



The message is clear: blind loyalty is key to survival *Katy Balls, page 3*

We've been sold a lie about mental health *Sanah Ahsan, page 4*

How the Treasury has steered the UK's fate *The long read, page 5*

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life &
arts
section
Inside

The Guardian **Thursday 8 September 2022**

Opinion
and ideas

Journal



Our nation is in freefall. What will you do, Liz Truss?

**Gordon
Brown**



Not only are Britain's poor people now stretched beyond their limits, but so too are our charities. Just as many breadwinners are finding it difficult to pay for bread, so there are now food banks fearful of running out of food. Preparing for a winter wave of unprecedented need, our voluntary sector is having to be innovative – and fast. Faced with rising deprivation in the local community where I was brought up, the family centre I volunteer at has pioneered the bank of banks: a food bank, bedding bank, clothes bank, toiletries bank, home furnishings bank, hygiene bank and baby bank, all rolled into one.

In just eight months, it has grown from being one of the county's smallest charities, with a turnover of £500,000 a year and 30 staff, to among the largest, with a £5m turnover in goods. Benefiting from a unique agreement to receive surplus items donated by the local Amazon warehouse and backed up by the Co-op, Scotmid and 12 local firms, it is now working with 500 nearby organisations – charities, food banks, schools, health centres and social work teams – which have been able to provide 35,000 families in Fife

with 230,000 items, from tinned food, nappies and children's clothes to duvets, kettles and beds.

Now stocks are being built up to prepare for the biggest demand surge of all – for blankets, sleeping bags and hot-water bottles as families give up on heating their homes and concentrate on heating themselves. But this central warehouse does more than hand out goods. In addition to delivering paint, wallpaper, carpets and home furnishings to families who can no longer afford basic household maintenance, a local team of volunteer painters, plumbers and electricians is now being assembled to help refurbish and improve homes. Plans are now under discussion for a shop that will lend electrical and mechanical tools free of charge for do-it-yourself repairs, while help is being extended from houses to gardens and the planting of allotments.

With its breakfast clubs, after-school clubs and mother-and-toddler groups now complemented by a pioneering dads' club, grannies' club, and its own team of mental health counsellors, the family centre is like so many charities I know – endlessly creative in helping families to do more with less. I am constantly impressed by the selfless support offered by local business, from

ILLUSTRATION:
EVA BEE

*
Gordon Brown
was UK prime
minister from
2007 to 2010

2
Our nation is in freefall.
What will you do, Liz Truss?
Gordon Brown

← Continued from front

 the struggling one-man electrical outfit to the biggest superstore. Yet the caregivers and social workers at the family centre know that no matter how inventive and extensive these already herculean efforts become, they will not be enough to prevent destitution this winter. At best, all this charitable assistance that has been brought together locally can bring an additional £10m to Fife's poorest families this year. But those extra millions cannot compensate for the £76m that the very same families are short of compared with last year.

This is because 35,000 Fife families lost in excess of £30m after the £20-a-week cut in universal credit last October, and are another £46m short in real terms because benefits have risen only 3% while inflation is pushing up their weekly bills by more than 10%. And this shortfall is only a fraction of the £200m that Fife council estimates has been lost to 35,000 families through benefit cuts since 2010.

For 75 years, the British welfare state, in sharp contrast to the US, has stepped up where and when the need is greatest. But now, as a result of austerity economics, it is not the social security system but food banks that have become the lifeline for families in need. And it is no longer universal credit but charity that is their last resort.

That is why Keir Starmer has demanded an energy price freeze and extra discounts for low-income families, including reduced charges on prepayment meters.

 hat we already know of the multibillion-pound energy package from our new prime minister, Liz Truss, suggests it is unlikely to do enough to prevent dire poverty this winter unless there is additional provision for low-income families. It will not undo the failure to uprate universal credit in line with prices, nor address the limitations of Rishi Sunak's summer flat-rate payment of £650, which worked out at only £2.60 a week each for a couple with three children, leaving little after paying fuel bills for food, mobiles, a TV licence, travel, children's clothes, toiletries and cleaning materials. Indeed, our threadbare official safety net has been so violently ripped apart over the past 12 years that research from Loughborough University shows that family benefits this year will cover only half of essential living costs. Small wonder that my local food bank has already run up a deficit of £28,000 this year, as appeals for help have risen 50%.

With these last lines of defence now breached and charities about to hit a breaking point, only the government has the resources to end the unspeakable suffering caused by unpayable bills and unmet needs. On Tuesday the new prime minister travelled the length of the country to Balmoral and back. There is despair in the communities she flew over but is unlikely to ever visit. There is fear in the eyes of people she and her ministers will never meet. For across our country there is suffering they do not see, hardship they do not hear and pain - and yet they pass on by.

From Covid to conflicts, we have always relied on some of the lowest-income earners - caregivers, nurses, ambulance workers, our armed services - to show up in an emergency. Now it's time for the government to show up for them. Only action to resurrect our national mission to end child and pensioner poverty can reunite an ever more divided and despairing country. As is often the case, doing the right thing is a matter of political will, and no one doubts Truss's determination.

In the worst of times, she now needs to deliver for the best and most urgent of causes. And if, instead, she is resolved to be irresolute in the fight against mounting poverty, decent people will devote their energies to assembling an unprecedented national coalition of churches and faith groups, charities and anti-poverty campaigners, local councillors and mayors to change her mind. Change is coming. This is a moment to replace desolation with hope.

The Guardian

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'Comment is free... but facts are sacred' CP Scott

Conservatives

Truss's new cabinet is a gamble that may backfire for the rest of the country

Liz Truss first joined the cabinet when David Cameron was prime minister, and has now doggedly pursued her ambitions all the way to the top. It is a feat of tenacity that proves she can outmanoeuvre her peers and win arguments among Tories. Running the country will demand a more varied skill set.

Given the scale of the challenges ahead, the new prime minister would benefit from a cabinet staffed with experienced ministers and proven administrators. Ms Truss appears instead to have recruited on the basis of loyalty and narrow ideology.

It makes sense to give the role of chancellor to a longstanding ally, and Kwasi Kwarteng, an old friend of Ms Truss, has the economic credentials. But his cabinet experience extends to less than two years at the business department. James Cleverly, the new foreign secretary, has only been in cabinet since July. Suella Braverman, the home secretary, has never run a government department.

A positive noteworthy feature of those appointments is the expression they give to diversity on the Tory benches. For the first time in history, none of the great offices of state are occupied by a white man. There is reason to doubt that Ms Truss's government can serve British society equally, but it would be churlish not to credit advances in representing women and people of colour.

The Tories have now provided Britain with three female prime ministers. Labour has managed none - a record it needs to examine with humility.

Ms Truss's manner also represents a welcome break from her predecessor's. She lacks Boris Johnson's theatrical swagger, but that is no loss. Her first appearance as prime minister at the dispatch box yesterday was marked by a serious exchange of opinions on policy. The Tory leader listened to Sir Keir Starmer's questions on how to fund consumer energy bill subsidies. She responded with more sincere engagement than Mr Johnson ever managed. He set that bar low, but it is still encouraging that Ms Truss clears it.

Less reassuring is the content of her answers, which expressed dogmatic conviction that corporate profits are sacrosanct and that the only legitimate thing to do with taxes is to cut them. In that respect, Ms Truss brings the opposite of intellectual renewal to government. She is pragmatic enough to see that the state must intervene during a cost of living crisis, but her attachment to hand-me-down Thatcherite analysis makes her oblivious to the complex character of the present emergency.

The clearest evidence of that obtuseness is her appointment to the business department of Jacob Rees-Mogg - a man with no discernible record of achievement in government. His reputation is built on media indulgence of cartoonish aristocratic affectations, and his self-appointed status as a grand inquisitor of Eurosceptic purity. That he is now the secretary of state responsible for the energy sector, workers' rights and climate policy is dispiriting.

The sheer magnitude of the economic challenge requires a government with intellectual agility and managerial skill to avoid turning a crisis into a calamity. Ms Truss has at least demonstrated a different style to her predecessor. That much is welcome, but not enough. She will also have to prove that she is capable of seeing the world through a lens wider than the one she applied when her only focus was rising through the Tory ranks.

Food crisis

Millions of people are facing starvation this year. Expect worse unless we act

Seven years ago, world leaders committed to a highly ambitious target: ending hunger by 2030. That goal is now more distant than ever. The United Nations estimates that the number of people in "hunger emergencies" - just one step away from famine - has jumped from 135 million in 2019 to 345 million. This week, the UN humanitarian chief warned that famine is "at the door" in Somalia. Across the drought-ravaged Horn of Africa, 22 million are at risk of starvation. Almost a third of Pakistan is underwater, and as much as four-fifths of its livestock have died. In southern China, drought and a heatwave are putting crops at risk. These follow Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which affected supplies from two major exporters and sent energy and fertiliser prices soaring.

Arif Husain, the UN World Food Programme's chief economist, has noted that the war itself did not create the crisis, but rather "put a lot of fuel on an already burning fire". Multiple conflicts and climate shocks were already having an impact when the pandemic hit. Though its effects on food production were not as severe as many had feared, it depleted reserves and many have not recovered. It looks highly likely that 2023 will be worse. Two-thirds of those affected by hunger last year were women - with the food security gap between women and men multiplying by 8.4 since 2018.

The UN stresses that at the moment the issue is not supply but access and affordability. Globally, prices have risen by about 20% year on year (while food

inflation stands at 33% in Iran and a staggering 122% in Lebanon). But production is an increasing concern. Fertiliser prices have soared by as much as 300% in some countries in Africa; wars and extreme weather are disrupting planting for next year's crops.

The crisis is laying bare the broken food system that underlies it, in which consumers, and often producers, struggle while others make huge profits. Grain trading is concentrated in the hands of only four companies, which are making record profits from desperately needed dietary staples. Speculation and profiteering were blamed for helping cause the Arab spring in the last food crisis; the fear is that they are once more prevailing.

The resumption of Ukrainian grain exports, though sorely needed, cannot fix this even if it endures. A good harvest would help, if major food-producing regions are luckier with the weather next year. A windfall tax on companies that have profited richly from the pandemic could be used to help feed people now and create a sustainable food system, as Oxfam has proposed.

Any long-term solution will require curbing carbon emissions, adapting crops as the climate crisis takes hold, reducing dependence on chemical fertilisers, and challenging the dominance of a small number of players in food markets. Even the UN's own human rights experts attacked its major food systems summit last year for failing to include the voices of the most vulnerable or effect any meaningful change.

The failure of governments to address the real problems has left the way clear for companies to exploit high prices for excessive profit, and Vladimir Putin to manipulate food for political ends - a tactic that others may be tempted to adopt in future, knowing full well its deadly cost. Meeting the 2030 goal is now a more daunting challenge than ever. The backwards slide must be halted.



The message is clear: blind loyalty will be key to survival

Katy Balls



The best barometer for how well Liz Truss is doing as prime minister will be how closely her cabinet sticks to the script. When the going gets tough in the coming months, will her ministers back her? Or will the most ambitious start to find reasons to stray outside of their brief, or make crowd-pleasing interventions? Such moves would not only suggest that discipline is slacking, but that her one-time leadership rivals believe there could soon be another vacancy at No 10.

As the new prime minister faces a daunting intray and weaker parliamentary support than her predecessors, her hope is that loyalty will triumph. Truss believes that as a minister she has been loyal to not one but three prime ministers - and it is now time for her ministers to do the same in return.

This is the foundation on which her government has been formed. Most of the plum jobs have gone to those who backed her early on in the race, leadership rivals who rowed in behind her after being knocked out and Rishi Sunak backers who saw the error of their ways and switched. Only one MP who backed and stuck with her rival, Sunak, will attend cabinet: Michael Ellis, the new attorney general.

The most senior roles in her government have gone to long-term allies. Her deputy - and health secretary - is her constituency neighbour and closest political ally, Thérèse Coffey. Her chancellor is her Greenwich neighbour and longtime friend, Kwasi Kwarteng. Her foreign secretary, James Cleverly, was her deputy when she held the role - so he knows what she thinks. Her home secretary is Suella Braverman, whose endorsement of Truss in the parliamentary stages of the contest was viewed as key to getting her the MP nominations that took her to the final two.

The appointments also hint at Truss's policy intentions. Like Truss, Kwarteng is more relaxed about debt than his Treasury predecessor, Sunak - meaning they ought to avoid the No 10/No 11 friction that characterised Boris Johnson's premiership.

A free trade advocate, Truss promoted her longtime supporter Ranil Jayawardena to environment secretary to avoid the inter-departmental fights over trade deals

Liz Truss attends her first prime minister's questions with her new cabinet
PHOTOGRAPH: REUTERS

Only one MP who backed and stuck with Rishi Sunak will attend cabinet. The PM is clearly not trying to be a unifier

that she had to endure when she was in the trade brief. During that period she viewed the then environment secretary, George Eustice, along with Michael Gove, as part of an axis of evil for their supposed protectionism. Both have been banished to the backbenches.

Yet for MPs looking on, many can't quite shake the feeling that blind support is the most important asset if you want to get on. "It's incredibly narrow," complains an MP on the one-nation wing of the party. The fact that Truss's margin of victory was smaller than the polls had suggested led some Sunak backers to hope she would reach out and try to be a unifier. This clearly has not come to pass.

The prime minister's camp is unapologetic. "We shouldn't be held to a ridiculous standard that no other prime minister would be when it comes to appointing people who have been openly hostile," a member of her leadership campaign tells me.

Her supporters say that the fact that she has even brought her leadership rivals into government ought to be taken as a sign of her magnanimity. However, those openings can't exactly be described as generous. The grassroots' favourite, Kemi Badenoch - who refrained from endorsing Truss - has been moved to international trade, meaning she will spend plenty of time out of the country. Penny Mordaunt - who endorsed Truss at one of the early hustings - has been made leader of the House of Commons, which is hardly a starring role.

When it comes to the junior ministerial ranks, there has at least been more of an attempt to suggest that there is a way back for those who supported her rival. A number of Sunak backers - including Mark Spencer, Victoria Prentis and Robert Jenrick - have been brought back into the fold. However, for many MPs it's all a little too late. But there's another problem lurking here. This isn't just a story about MPs who want to serve but have been given the cold shoulder; it's about the fact that several don't even want to do that.

A number of "red wall" MPs are now so concerned about keeping hold of their seats in the face of Labour leading in the polls that they don't want any promotion that could distract them from the task at hand: remaining an MP come the next election. Many are exhausted and can barely hide their lack of enthusiasm; a handful of MPs are beginning to look at the prospect of opposition with misty eyes. "The party needs time to rejuvenate," says one MP in a safe seat.

The problem with this type of argument, however, is that it tends to be made only by those with large majorities, to the dismay of those MPs in marginal seats, who don't have the luxury to think about time rebuilding in shadow briefs.

It's why supporters of Truss hope that the prospect of a looming general election will concentrate minds. But the danger for her is that bad polling and deepening economic woes could make her cabinet start to think not about a general election, but the one that would follow a Tory defeat - the next leadership election. For this reason, public opinion is ultimately what matters. Forget loyalty: it's good numbers that will offer Truss the best protection against troublesome colleagues.

*
Katy Balls
is deputy political editor of the Spectator



We've been sold a lie about mental health

Sanah Ahsan



We are living, we're told, through a "mental health crisis". Mental health services cannot cope with the explosion of demand over the past two years: 1.6 million people are on waiting lists, while another 8 million need help but can't even get on these lists.

But there is another way to see this crisis - one that doesn't place it firmly in the realm of the medical system. Doesn't it make sense that so many of us are suffering? The climate is breaking down, we're trying to stay on top of rising living costs, still weighted with grief, contagion and isolation, while revelations about the police murdering women and strip-

searching children shatter our faith in those who are supposed to protect us.

As a clinical psychologist who has been working in NHS services for a decade, I've seen first-hand how we are failing people by locating their problems within them as some kind of mental disorder or psychological issue, and thereby depoliticising their distress. Will six sessions of CBT, designed to target "unhelpful" thinking styles, really be effective for someone who doesn't know how they're going to feed their family? Antidepressants aren't going to eradicate the relentless racial trauma a black man is surviving in a hostile workplace, and branding people who are enduring sexual violence with a psychiatric disorder does nothing to keep them safe.

If a plant were wilting we wouldn't diagnose it with "wilting-plant-syndrome" - we would change its conditions. Yet when humans are suffering under unliveable conditions, we're told something is wrong with us, and expected to keep pushing through.

In efforts to destigmatise mental distress, "mental illness" is framed as an "illness like any other" - rooted in supposedly flawed brain chemistry. In reality, recent research concluded that depression is not caused by a chemical imbalance of the brain. Ironically, suggesting we have a broken brain for life increases stigma.

Individual therapy is brilliant for lots of people, and antidepressants can help some people cope. But I worry that a purely medicalised, individualised understanding of mental health puts plasters over big gaping wounds, without addressing the source of violence. They encourage us to adapt to systems, thereby protecting the status quo. It is here that we fail marginalised people the most.

The UK could learn a lot from liberation psychology. Founded in the 1980s by the Salvadorian activist and psychologist Ignacio Martín-Baró, it argues that we

cannot isolate "mental health problems" from our broader societal structures. Suffering emerges within people's experiences and histories of oppression. Liberation psychology sees people not as patients, but potential social actors in the project of freedom, rather than being forced into a white, Eurocentric and individualistic idea of therapy. It directly challenges the social, cultural and political causes of distress through collective social action.

Let me be clear: I'm not saying people in distress should be out there on the picket line. Pain can be debilitating. But those of us who are supporting people, such as mental health workers, have a key role in social transformation.

Instead of trying to change "mindsets" in therapy, we need to change race- and class-based hierarchies, the housing and economic system. As a clinical psychologist, some of my most powerful work has been not in the therapy room, but in successfully advocating for secure housing for, or working in the community with, queer, black and brown people. We also need social change that is preventive, such as investing in young people and community-led services such as Healing Justice London and 4front.

None of this is to dismiss the value of one-on-one therapy. But therapy must be a place where oppression is examined, where the focus isn't to simply reduce distress, but to see it as a survival response to an oppressive world. To return to the plant analogy - we must look at our conditions. The water might be a universal basic income, the sun safe, affordable housing and easy access to nature and creativity. Food could be loving relationships, community or social support. Life is hard. But if we could transform the soil, access sunlight, nurture our interconnected roots and have room for our leaves to unfurl, wouldn't life be a little more livable?

*** Dr Sanah Ahsan**
is a clinical psychologist, poet, presenter and educator

The long read

The truth about the Treasury

It's true that the UK Treasury
thrives in a crisis.
But is its self-hyped reputation
as the bedrock of government
stability really deserved?

By *Aeron Davis*





here is a flattering story that the Treasury likes to tell about itself. Picture the scene in March 2020, Covid spreading fast around the world and countries implementing shutdowns and border closures. Boris Johnson, the prime minister, underestimating the problem, Matt Hancock, the health secretary, dithering. Government ministers praying for a modest death rate before herd immunity kicked in.

Then, from the chaos, emerges someone with a real plan and a crack team: the new chancellor, Rishi Sunak, and behind him, the Treasury, peopled with the top brains of the civil service. “Whatever it takes,” says Sunak, as hundreds of billions of pounds are found and committed to the nation’s safety. The Treasury rolls out an extensive furlough and business support scheme. This ensures that the economy remains afloat while people can stay safe at home.

It’s not the first time a PM has had to be rescued by their chancellor and the Treasury. Back in 1976, when a bankrupt Britain was being bailed out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it was a revamped Treasury that got the public finances under control and restored international confidence in the UK. In 1992, two Tory chancellors, Norman Lamont and Kenneth Clarke, stabilised the economy after John Major’s foolhardy plan to adopt the euro fell apart. Years later, Labour chancellor Gordon Brown stepped in to obstruct Tony Blair’s equally misguided attempt to do the same. He then helped stave off the impact of the dotcom meltdown in 2000 before going on to “save the world” from the great financial crash that began in 2007.

And then there was Brexit. It went against everything the Treasury had believed and worked for. George Osborne tried his best to deter David Cameron from holding an EU referendum. The Treasury then crunched the data to show how disastrous leaving would be. When Britain voted to leave, the Treasury stepped in to calm the markets and maintain stability in the years of political deadlock and paralysis that followed.

The Treasury represents the “grownups” in government – all the more so now, in a government flush with populist “liars” and incompetent “fantasists” (labels given by former cabinet colleagues I interviewed).

Well, that’s the story that successive chancellors and Treasury officials have been very successful at telling. I beg to differ.

It is true that the exchequer is an impressive institution that is essential to the UK. Accounts of how the collapse of the UK banking system was averted, or about the construction of a furlough and business support scheme in the early weeks of Covid, reveal just how effective the Treasury can be in a crisis. It is a bedrock of government stability in times of national crisis.

All too often, however, the Treasury has escaped scrutiny when it comes to the ups and downs of Britain’s economy. The various bubbles, crashes and depressions, the banking crises, productivity gaps and decline of industry are all blamed on others, from obstructive unions and greedy bankers to inept regulators and politicians. Meanwhile, the Treasury is presented as the saviour, which, like an endlessly patient parent, comes and sorts out the messes of others.

But the Treasury has a certain amount of culpability for many of these crises. Although a relatively small department of state, its power and influence has only grown stronger since the 1970s. It has moved beyond controlling government finances to slowly dominating wider economic strategy and influencing many other policy areas. It has been the prime institution of government responsible for UK economic policy for decades. It has overseen every decision on taxation, financial regulation, privatisation, government borrowing and everything else – which makes one wonder how it can possibly be absolved of responsibility for the debacles of the UK economy during that time.

This, after all, is the institution responsible for botched privatisations and the mass sell-off of social housing. It has favoured international finance over national industry and built up vast off-balance-sheet debts. It has facilitated huge income inequalities, and sharp regional and generational inequalities have grown under its watch. And don’t forget all those market bubbles that it either ignored or fuelled.

Whether consciously or not, the Treasury’s elite appointees have acted as a sort of advance guard for the implementation of many of the neoliberal ideas and practices that organise the UK economy today. When all is said and done, the exchequer did as much to bring about Brexit as did lying, populist politicians and billionaire newspaper owners. They didn’t want it (well, Rishi Sunak did) but they sowed the seeds for it over many years.

Over the past few years, in the course of my research on the Treasury, I have interviewed 55 people connected with the institution, including every chancellor from 1979 to 2019 (except John Major, who occupied the role from 1989 to 1990), and every permanent secretary of the Treasury since 1983. The more I have studied the institution, the more I have become aware of its contradictions.

For one, it is a finance department and an economics ministry. Its traditional primary remit is to take control of the government’s budget. That means it is engaged in an ongoing, sometimes brutal battle to restrict department spending. Sir Tom Scholar, the current Treasury permanent secretary, sees this as the institution’s most crucial role. “Things have got to be paid for, whether by taxation, spending reallocation or borrowing,” he told me. “Everything somehow in the end has got to be paid for.”

At the same time, the Treasury is also responsible for wider economic policy, which often requires spending from those same departments. This has led some to argue that the Treasury should be split into two departments of finance and economics, as in Germany and the US. When I spoke to Vicky Pryce, a former head of the government economic services, she argued that the Treasury lacks real knowledge of particular sectors

The Treasury building in London

REUTERS/TOBY MELVILLE



– welfare, energy, climate change etc – but refuses to recognise this. “The Treasury generally thinks that they can handle it all.” In her view, “the Treasury should just be the finance department”.

Another contradiction: the Treasury must guide national economic policy, but since the 1970s, the predominant Treasury consensus has been that the economy is best served by keeping the state out of all forms of economic management. This belief goes well beyond selling off nationalised industries and other state assets. The Treasury tends to be reluctant to support regional development, or to favour national industries in trade negotiations, or to invest in grand infrastructure projects. This position has intensified in recent decades. “The Treasury knows that it doesn’t know best, so better to leave decisions to markets,” is how Nicholas Macpherson, the Treasury permanent secretary from 2005-16, put it.

Similarly, although responsible for boosting the whole of the UK economy, the Treasury is very much rooted in central London and has limited knowledge of regional economies and non-financial industries. Kenneth Clarke, former chancellor, told me being in the Treasury “was like being on the high table at an Oxbridge college composed of brilliant people, none of whom would have been capable of running a wheel stall, because they didn’t have much experience of the real world in a hands-on way”.

The last contradiction worth teasing apart is the contrast between the view of the Treasury as driven by key personalities (a view endorsed by many former chancellors) and the view of the Treasury as guided by data and the impersonal forces of economics (a view preferred by many economists). According to the former view, economics is subordinate to politics. When I spoke to George Osborne, he put it like this: “At the heart of almost all domestic political decisions are basic questions of who are you taking money from and who are you giving money to. That’s not really economics; it actually goes to the heart of how you organise a society ... So, in the end I always thought of them more as sort of social judgments rather than economic judgments.”

A different view emerges from formal Treasury publications and academic studies that focus on financial trends and procedures. In these, the Treasury is a sort of central processing hub, managing inputs of hard data and ever-more sophisticated economic models, all deployed to observe and respond to economic conditions. This world is one of logical decisions, formal institutional practices, complex algorithms and advanced processor power, in which human decisions play a diminishing part.

The problem with this more abstract view of the Treasury is that it conveniently enables those involved in making decisions to hide behind faulty models and unmanageable markets and global economic forces, as if nothing they did was ultimately under their own control. But the recent history of the Treasury, and the British economy, tells a different story. Nothing was inevitable. Groups of individuals made choices, often based on the dominant economic norms of the time, and often in response to political or financial expediency, though sometimes with grander idealistic goals in mind.

Much of the time, however, there was no grand plan. Some of those I spoke to admitted that they hadn’t thought through certain ideas or how key policies would result in the significant outcomes that followed. They showed a certain amount of remorse about the eventual pathways taken. Others simply wanted to defend their decisions at the time and preferred to dwell on more positive results. Others still, who watched rather than participated, were eager to condemn key decisions and policies from afar. Hardly any of them, however, would have predicted then how things were to turn out now.

Since the 2016 Brexit vote, the Treasury has experienced a rapid decline and then a renewal of fortunes. The decision to leave the EU marked the collapse of four decades of economic policy consensus, the breakdown of the British establishment, and was



a direct hit to Treasury power. Into the power vacuum walked Boris Johnson and a makeshift alliance of politicians, media moguls and corporate leaders, who had all seen the EU referendum as an opening too good to miss. Nothing was going to get in their way, and certainly not the Treasury and its orthodoxy.

Brexit devastated the Treasury on multiple levels, some more visible than others. One senior official's account of what was happening inside the institution the day after the vote reveals the sense of chaos and disarray that followed: "There were a lot of people in tears. There were a lot of people who did take it as a personal criticism. George Osborne disappeared. We didn't see him again until the following Monday. The prime minister resigned. So, by 9.30am on the day of the biggest political shock in modern British history, we didn't have a chancellor because he'd gone awol, but the prime minister had just resigned. It was kind of bizarre. The adult, the supervising adult for the financial system was [governor] Mark Carney, who had made an extremely accomplished, almost presidential statement from the Bank of England. Nobody understood what it meant, but he had a very big number."

The Treasury found itself on the losing side of a huge fight. For one senior adviser at the time, the exchequer remained in denial for some time: "They were feeling Brexit was the wrong decision for the country. And I spoke to one very senior official whose plan basically was to drop out of the EU, into the EEA for a few years, and then rejoin the EU."

With the Brexit vote, the Treasury lost its dominant, facilitating position in national economic management. A vote for Brexit was also a vote of no confidence in economic experts and Treasury authority. The Treasury was now one player among many, jostling with enemies on all sides.

Many of Britain's business and financial elite, despite their strong concerns about leaving the EU, had been reluctant to get involved in the 2016 remain campaign. After the leave vote, they were equally unwilling to make the case for a soft Brexit. As several in and around the Treasury told me, CEOs constantly turned up, armed with alarming research to lobby against leaving the EU and a hard Brexit. But they didn't say that in public. "That drove me mad," one adviser told me. "They'd come into the Treasury, and they'd complain and complain and complain. They'd provide this sharp harsh data, and we'd think great,

With Brexit, the Treasury lost its dominant position. A vote for Brexit was also a vote of no confidence in Treasury authority

*Former
chancellors
(from left)
Norman
Lamont, Gordon
Brown, George
Osborne, Philip
Hammond and
Rishi Sunak*

ALAMY/GETTY

write a letter, publish it in the Times. 'Oh, we can't do that.' They didn't want the risk ... from a business perspective they'd done the right thing, but they all came in and complained."

Under Cameron's successor, Theresa May, the antagonism between Number 10 and the Treasury grew. No one, including then-chancellor Philip Hammond and all the advisers and officials I talked to, quite knew what May's intentions were on Brexit. They were all blindsided by her "Brexit means Brexit" speech, her decision to trigger article 50, and shocked by her lack of understanding of the economic implications of leaving the single market. Hammond continued to battle for the status quo – namely, balancing the budget and aiming for the softest Brexit possible.

However, May, pushed on by the Brexiters and her aides Nick Timothy and Fiona Hill, instead veered towards a hard Brexit. They also directly challenged the Treasury, attempting to wrest control of economic policy from it. "Nick Timothy genuinely hated the Treasury, genuinely hated us and saw us as the root of all evil," one top official claimed. "His creation of BEIS [the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy] was a straight-up attack," that was intended "to pull the economics part out of the Treasury".

By the end of 2016, the Treasury and Hammond looked increasingly isolated. Few were prepared to take their side within Westminster. They seemed to be hanging on by default amid the wider turmoil of government.

The exchequer does crisis exceedingly well, and three major crises have aided its recovery from its 2016-17 nadir. The first, devastating to the nation's politics, was the June 2017 election, which left May's government without a working majority, effectively paralysing Westminster. The second, devastating

to its health, was the 2020 arrival of Covid. The third was more localised and personal, but no less significant: partygate and the subsequent collapse of Johnson's support.

The 2017 election result, debilitating as it was for May, probably saved Hammond's position as chancellor and the exchequer from a more major assault. Instead of Hammond being sacked, as had been widely touted before the election, it was Timothy and Hill who were dispatched. May found that Hammond was rather easier to deal with than the hardline Brexiters now taking up cabinet seats. As a senior official reflected: "Hammond was basically the only member of the cabinet that remained consistently loyal and respectful to her and didn't brief against her."

The Treasury also regained a degree of economic authority. This was partly because none of the department's enemies offered an alternative economic vision. As one former economic adviser states: "Brexiters like Boris basically had no coherent position or argument, frankly. They didn't understand the tradeoffs that were inherent in Brexit."

Hammond and the Treasury were then able to regroup and continue pursuing the as-you-were strategy of balancing the budget, maintaining international investor confidence and pushing for a softer Brexit. Although they eased up a bit on deficit reduction, Hammond was entirely attuned to the previous orthodoxy. He had backed the cuts strategy of the coalition before, and strongly believed in retaining access to the single market now.

When, after three and a half years of Brexit stalemate, May was finally toppled by Johnson, the new prime minister proceeded to purge many of May's ministers and then won a clear majority at the election at the end of 2019. He consolidated his position by hacking away at any dissenting establishment institutions and voices, from parliament to the judiciary and the BBC. A hard Brexit was achieved. He made a point of firing any cabinet colleagues who might offer a hint of opposition. "We all know what happens if you say no to the prime minister," as one former Treasury adviser put it to me. "You get whacked."

Sajid Javid, Johnson's first chancellor and a popular figure in the Treasury, was whacked less than six months after being appointed. Sunak, then just another unknown Goldman





Sachs graduate, fell into line. According to officials, Dominic Cummings, Johnson’s whacker-in-chief, was set on ejecting many senior mandarins, with Scholar, the Treasury permanent secretary, at the top of his list. Then, just as Cummings was preparing the hits, Johnson, in true Robert De Niro style, clipped Cummings instead.

Surprisingly, once he was secure as PM, Johnson dropped his attacks on anti-Brexiteers and Whitehall. Peerages were quietly doled out and whips restored. Peace was made with Number 11. Once Johnson became prime minister, one mandarin told me, he “actually worked well with the Treasury”.

Key to this improved relationship was the fact that the Treasury and its new chancellors, Javid and then Sunak, accepted Johnson’s Brexit and big spending agendas. After the 2019 election, Johnson made great efforts to distinguish his administration from Cameron’s and May’s with tens of billions of additional public spending and by setting up an infrastructure investment bank. (I asked several Conservatives to explain this sudden shift of party and exchequer policy. Some talked of “levelling up” and the need to secure northern seats gained from Labour in 2019. For others, the spending had no larger economic policy coherence, but was purely about changing the Tory brand and maintaining Johnson’s appeal. As one adviser put it: “He tells everybody what they want to hear.”)

On the Brexit side, talking to those in and around the Treasury in 2021, there appeared to be a greater willingness to engage with the leave position. Voting leave hadn’t made much sense to them at the time. They now acknowledged the issues of sovereignty, immigration and regional economic disparities, keenly felt beyond the London bubble. A new office is being set up in Darlington with an expectation of eventually employing 200-300 Treasury staff there. There was also a recognition that austerity had gone on too long and that there was a need to actively support those regions left behind.

And then, just as the officials in the Treasury were starting to feel distinctly uncomfortable with the new grand outlays, there came the Covid pandemic. This event, probably the most devastating for the general public’s lives since the second world war, was punishing for the Treasury, and one of its finest hours.

As the crisis began, Sunak’s exchequer moved remarkably quickly. Senior officials combined with the Bank of England to dream up solutions to problems they had never considered. “Some countries have existing furlough schemes. We had nothing,” one official admitted. “We didn’t even know what the name meant.” Another Treasury interviewee emphasised the sheer scale of what was done:

“Our tax teams and HMRC invented and implemented furlough at incredible speed. At its peak, we had a third of the British workforce on our payroll. We were paying 80% of the salaries of nearly 10 million out of a workforce of 30 million. We created a whole new large corporate banking capability from scratch, which no one’s really noticed. With the Bank of England, we extended £100bn of credit facilities for larger companies. We guaranteed several multibillion-pound loans to strategically important UK companies to support them through the crisis. With BEIS and the British Business Bank, we guaranteed new small business lending supporting over 1.5m SMEs. And we did it all with our colleagues working remotely from their bedrooms, living rooms and kitchen tables.”

Between Brexit and Covid, the Treasury once again became indispensable. As well as dealing with economic support schemes during the pandemic, post-Brexit it also had to cover gaps in trade policy, tariffs, financial services regulation and competition policy. Under Nicholas Macpherson, Treasury headcount had been steadily reduced to just under 1,200 people. Expanding to deal with the new functions pushed that back up to over 2,000.

And, as with previous crises, with many urgent demands on government funds, the Treasury’s hand was strengthened by holding the purse strings.



The Treasury’s position remains very precarious, highlighted by Truss’s attacks on it during the Tory leadership election

Whatever Johnson and other cabinet ministers thought of the department, they were too reliant on its abilities and practical administrative tools to take it on. As one former adviser put it: “There is now a certain level of co-dependency ... in a way Covid sort of saves their political union.”

But as the effects of the pandemic stretched out into a second year, tensions began to build. The question was how long the Treasury would be prepared to maintain such levels of emergency spending, let alone be willing to fund Johnson’s agenda. Large parts of the private sector were suffering from the impacts of Brexit, Covid or both. Similarly, many parts of the public sector were in desperate need of greater resources to maintain vital services. As Scholar reflected: “I think there are big questions confronting the Treasury and the chancellor. One is what to do about all of the debt that’s been incurred in the last 18 months, over what timeframe and with what target to start ... Every country in the world’s got that question.”

Speaking to another senior official, his cheery demeanour disappeared as he reeled off the impossible list of essential things to be funded: “We’ve got a huge health backlog. Getting to net zero isn’t free ... levelling up, big investment, depending on what it is, but the deprived communities are not going to think levelling up means anything unless they see some money that they wouldn’t otherwise have seen. And we’ve also got rising debt interest on the bigger stock of debt ... and we’ve got an ageing population. So, you can make yourself all quite gloomy on the fiscal outlook.”

Towards the end of 2021 it looked as though a showdown was coming. Johnson and the big spenders would declare new measures for levelling up. The Treasury would respond with an empty coffer. Then came partygate, Johnson’s plummeting poll ratings, a leadership contest and now a new prime minister, Liz Truss. As so often in the past, and again now, when crises hit, the Treasury reverts to its default position of harsh cuts and budget balancing. The fallback position of aspiring Tory leadership contenders - and neither Truss nor Sunak were different here - is a return to 80s Thatcherism (tax cuts, union bashing and deregulation). The combination suggests that in early 2022, the exchequer was returning to full strength. That was until inflation soared, Russia invaded Ukraine, energy costs shot up and a widespread cost of living crisis threatened devastating consequences. The immediate Covid crisis was under

Liz Truss while chief secretary to the Treasury in 2018

REUTERS/PETER NICHOLLS

control but the urgent need for large-scale emergency government spending remained.

Thus, the Treasury’s position remains very precarious, highlighted by Truss’s attacks on it during the Tory leadership election. There are a number of wider intellectual and social challenges ahead. These all strongly contest the key elements of Treasury orthodoxy and mainstream economic policy that have been widely adopted in many nations: free trade, free markets, monetary over fiscal activism and balanced budgets.

One clear Treasury principle, which seems to have been undermined by recent global events, is that of internationalism and free trade. Since the financial crisis, protectionism has grown globally, with the World Trade Organization being sidelined and many international trade disputes following. Brexit was the UK’s very public rejection of certain aspects of globalisation. Since then, Covid has put further barriers up as nations have tightened borders and restricted movement, as well as competing aggressively over vaccine production and distribution.

The pandemic also revealed that too much dependence on international supply chains was extremely problematic amid a global crisis. “We couldn’t even manufacture a plastic glove in the UK. And so, we had a shocking dependence on PPE from around the world,” one Treasury official told me. “Treasury orthodoxy before would have been: ‘Oh well, you know, free market, it’s protectionism to have national preference, you can always buy these plastic guards from the cheapest provider, and someone will make them somewhere else.’ But I think it’s a bit of a wake-up call for all of us.”

More generally, the wider intellectual rationales that have guided UK economic policy, as in many capitalist economies, appear increasingly confused. Governments everywhere have intervened in their economies to degrees unprecedented since the second world war. This goes against decades of consensus about the limits of state economic intervention. Such interventions, adopted during the 2007-08 financial crisis, were supposed to be temporary and later unwound. They weren’t. Now similar actions, from huge government bond buying by central banks to emergency funding of the private sector, make the temporary the norm. For the economist Daniela Gabor, the new financial shift means that “we are living through a revolution without revolutionaries ... Central banks have quietly put in place a shadow monetary financing regime since the global financial crisis.”

And behind all this lurks the issue of rising inflation to levels not seen since the 70s. Textbook monetarism says that interest rates need to rise to head off inflation, but even the modest rises happening now will have a very hard impact on the economy and a public struggling to eat and heat their houses while seeing their mortgage rates soar. Quite apart from inhibiting future economic recovery, ballooning individual, corporate and government debt levels, already huge prior to Covid, will become unserviceable. The resulting economic crisis could be worse than in 2007-08.

Such dilemmas, of course, reach far beyond the UK. But the UK and the Treasury, like many other nations and finance departments, must be wondering how to cope and how to retain credibility. Sticking to conventional economic thinking of the kind that has dominated since the late 70s does not seem sustainable. In fact, the actions of central banks and finance departments everywhere demonstrate that the iron economic certainties of mainstream economic policy have, in a crisis, proved to be as malleable as soft butter. What comes next under Truss and her chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng - radical paradigm shift, return to an unworkable system, fantasy economics, or decline into something worse - is anybody’s guess. ●

This is an edited extract from Bankruptcy, Bubbles and Bailouts: The Inside History of the Treasury Since 1976 by Aeron Davis, published by Manchester University Press on 18 October and available at guardianbookshop.co.uk

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Aeron Davis
is professor of political communication at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand



Established 1906

Country diary
West Norwood, London

The streets are noisy. This is London, after all. But there are corners of refuge. West Norwood cemetery is one. Walk through the gates and you feel the bustle fall away. Find a bench. Sit.

The minutes pass with a pleasing lack of urgency. The world slows. August into early September is a time of stasis. “The doldrums”, birders call it. Breeding season is over and autumn migration is still clearing its throat. The swifts went weeks ago, their daily squeals of excitement just a memory. Now the speed prize goes to parakeets, and even they seem subdued by this relentlessly hot, dry summer. One flies over my head into an oak, where it burbles to itself, lacking the energy to issue its trademark squawk.

The quiet is palpable. The clamour of birdsong faded through June, as breeding pairs concentrated on the serious business of raising their broods. By July, singing males were outliers. Come August, they shut up almost completely. No need to claim territory or woo mates at this time of year. In the cemetery, summer bird noise is restricted to the occasional warning *chrrrk!* of a blue tit or the desultory croak of a crow.

There’s always an exception. A coal tit pierces the silence. *Pi-tchew! Pi-tchew!* A young bird, perhaps, discovering its voice with the gleeful exuberance of a three-year-old shouting a newly learned naughty word.

Silence returns.

Soon the robin will give its silvery autumn song - more melancholy than the spring version, according to conventional wisdom. Soon blackbirds will emerge from their self-imposed summer recess, fresh of plumage and chipper of demeanour, hopping across the lawn in search of fallen apples. And soon the remaining summer visitors will slip away and the winter ones will arrive. Before we know it, there will be thick jumpers and bowls of soup and piles of leaves. And one evening a month from now, I’ll be walking home and there will be a shrill *Tseep!* overhead - the flight call of the first redwing, just in from Scandinavia - and autumn will truly be upon us.

But for now, we have the coal tit and the burbling parakeet.

Lev Parikian

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Don’t airbrush Johnson’s shameful record in office

Vernon Bogdanor has a peculiarly generous view of Boris Johnson’s premiership (History may be kinder to the fallen PM, 6 September). Despite listing Johnson’s assaults on the constitution, his willingness to flout due process to save his friends, his disdain for parliamentary procedure, his financial improprieties and his lying, Bogdanor believes that “loss of the premiership is enough” for a man whose questionable moral judgment so regularly outraged a nation.

Somehow, Johnson is to be commended for “his public optimism, so valuable in raising the nation’s spirits during lockdown”, despite presiding over arrangements distinguished chiefly by their managerial incompetence. Somehow, the inclusion of a handful of MPs from minority ethnic groups means that Johnson has “done much to raise the status of people from ethnic minorities and women”, as if the elevation of individuals makes one iota of difference to the lived experiences of those whose unidentified “status” he presumes it can raise. Somehow, the empty

Harsh reality of finding a home to rent

I was saddened but not surprised to see the article on the rental crisis in the UK (‘It’s a total disaster’: why is it so hard to rent a flat?, 1 September). I am in a similar situation. I am a midwife, so a key worker, and after living in Mexico for the last four years, decided to move back to the UK to work for the NHS.

I was offered a job in York in May and I have been house hunting there since early June. I’ve made countless trips to York from Northumberland, where I am staying with my parents, and have been turned down for every property that I’ve applied for, even though I have good references and a guarantor if needed. On one occasion, I was on the train going to view a property only to be called and told that it had already gone. On another, I was told by an agent that they were waiting for a response from the landlord, only to be told later by their colleague that the landlord had turned down my application days ago.

My children have been very excited about the move, but I am

promises of “levelling up” are magically redeemed by a white paper produced in February, which even Bogdanor admits was issued in the “dying days” of Johnson’s government, as if this commitment was free of the whiff of desperation.

Of course, Johnson is entitled to offer a self-aggrandising version of himself in any future writing, but Bogdanor would do well to heed his own cautionary exhortation that “the immediate verdict of the pundits can be far removed from the judgment of history”. With the Tory press already airbrushing his tenure so as to ease Johnson’s historical redemption, one would hope historians of the future will have a clearer view than Bogdanor that the loss of his job was the least that Johnson should have suffered.

Paul McGilchrist
Colchester, Essex

● I was staggered by Vernon Bogdanor’s article. When the full story of the corruption and waste of the PPE scandal is revealed, especially the VIP lane to channel taxpayers’ money for PPE into the hands of donors and cronies, and the abject failure of

at the point where we may have to return to Mexico just so we can find a place to live and they can go to school. I have rented all my adult life in the UK and the situation has never been anything close to this stressful. At least I now know that I’m not alone.

Sophie Hall
Hexham, Northumberland

● Elle Hunt’s article talks about the disaster of soaring rents, queues for tenancies and the horrors of private renting as if this were a national scandal. Most examples cited are in London, and that is where the problem really lies. It is not happening in Newcastle upon Tyne. I bought my first investment property in 1986 and since then, the rent on that property has increased by 1.6% a year - hardly rampant rental inflation. Now to the reality of investing in housing. I am obtaining quotes for a new roof on a property. The job will cost about £22,000 and I will also improve the existing insulation and have the building repainted.

The rough price will be £30,000. This work will be at no cost to 15 tenants, as will the buildings insurance, gas, fire and electrical safety certification, and the maintenance service that we provide. There are thousands of decent landlords across the UK.

Steve Banks
Newcastle upon Tyne

the test-and-trace programme, Boris Johnson’s reputation will diminish further. His decisions during the pandemic may have led to the deaths of tens of thousands of people - responsibility for which he will not evade.

For the first time, we had a government that lied in parliament and trashed the rules concerning the behaviour, integrity and corruption of ministers, including Johnson himself. The Johnson government was the most venal, corrupt, callous and incompetent in British history for at least 150 years. The full story about what the Johnson regime was like and what it did will become available over time and will destroy the last few tattered remnants of his reputation. The only history of his premiership that will be kind to him is the one he will write.

John Cookson
Bournemouth, Dorset

● I don’t see why anyone, liberal left or not, should let Boris Johnson “polish his record”. He should be repeatedly condemned for the economic catastrophe caused by Brexit, which his lies helped bring about, and not just vilified but held to account for causing, by his moral and political misjudgments and cowardice, the massive Covid death toll that has, incredibly, been forgotten by the media and populace.

Chris Hardy
West Wittering, West Sussex

Heat your clothes to save on fuel bills

The energy crisis may be a chance for alternative thinking (Feeling the chill: How underheated homes can make health issues worse, 1 September). Until relatively recently, the idea of heating every room in our homes would have been seen as an extravagance. Arguably, only advances in central heating and cheap fuel have stopped this being the case. It is nonetheless a waste of energy when what we are actually trying to do is warm ourselves. By using the heating system to maintain a minimum temperature high enough to avoid freezing pipes or mould forming (10C or so), bills can be slashed. Heated clothing (jackets, trousers) are available cheaply, powered by rechargeable lithium-ion battery packs.

It costs pennies to charge the batteries overnight, and the clothes can keep you toasty all day, whether you are outside or inside your home, in combination with a fleece or jumper. It could also save on countless tons of CO₂ that would be added to the atmosphere from burning gas. A family of four can be kitted out for the price of the government’s heating allowance.

Stu Smith
Ipswich, Suffolk

Corrections and clarifications

- Emily Maitlis and the man who stalked her, Edward Vines, attended Cambridge University at the same time, not Oxford (Maitlis stalker jailed for writing to ex-BBC presenter from prison, 6 September, p13).
- An article was out by a factor of 100 when it said Norway had “capped electricity bills at about £6 per kWh”. In fact, the price cap is at 0.7 krone, or 6p, per kWh (Cushioning the blow, 2 September, p10).

Editorial complaints and corrections can be sent to guardian.readers@theguardian.com

How to refer to your family’s out-laws

I have friends who refer to their children’s unmarried partners as their “daughters-in-love” or “sons-in-love” (Letters, 7 September). It’s affectionate and not as twee as it sounds.

Dr Brigid Purcell
Norwich

● The quandary is easily solved here in Scotland by the widely used and understood phrase “bidie-in”.

Rosemary Goodman
St Andrews, Fife

● As I am not married to the man who shares my home and life, I have always referred to myself as a “daughter-out-law”.

Sarah Williamson
Sheffield

● Trussites? Trussians? Rafael Behr wonders what we should call supporters of the new prime minister (Truss’s small state ethos will be sorely tested, 7 September). After her appointment of such a loyalist cabinet, I think we should go for Trussties.

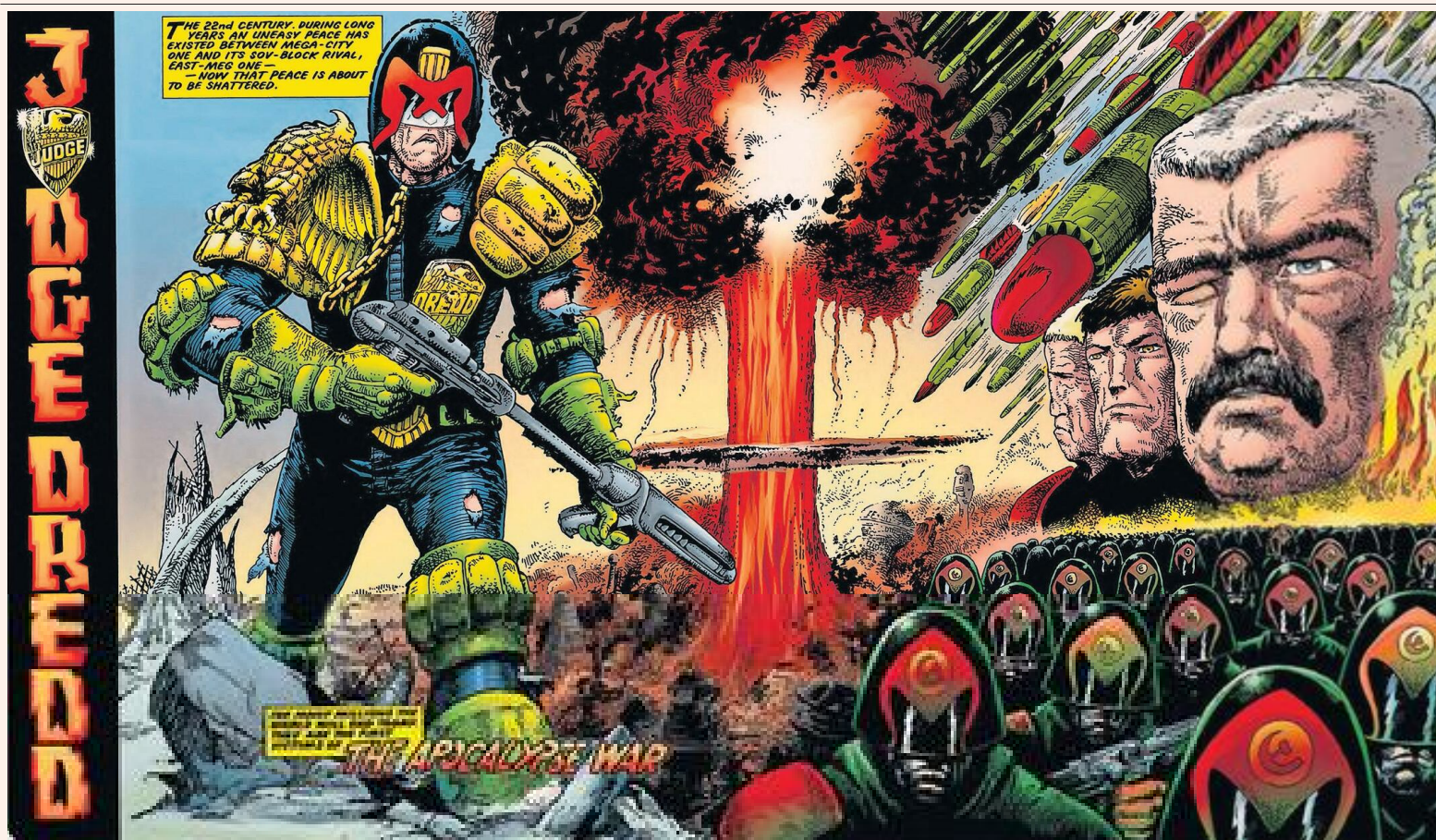
Canon Robert Titley
London

● Regarding the joy of letters (7 September), for more than 10 years I have been writing to my pen friend on death row in South Carolina, US. We both get a great deal from it. Many prisoners would like to correspond but have no one. Organisations such as Life Lines will carefully match anyone interested.

Phil Madden
Abergavenny, Monmouthshire

● Will someone tell weather forecasters to stop describing a rise in temperature as “improving” and rain being “a risk”, when my lawn is yellow and we have a hosepipe ban?

Jennifer Macwhinnie
London



Alan Grant

Comic book writer who shaped storylines for characters such as Judge Dredd and Batman

During the time that the comic book writer Alan Grant, who has died aged 73, was at school in Scotland in the 1950s, he was regularly beaten by his teachers for being left-handed and frequently excluded for rebellious behaviour. So it is perhaps surprising that he went on to write celebrated runs of the adventures of two of the most authoritarian comic characters – Judge Dredd and Batman.

Or perhaps not. Judge Dredd, which debuted in the British sci-fi weekly 2000AD in 1977, is a sharp satire on an all-powerful future police state, while Batman is the brooding vigilante who has to mete out justice because the corrupt authorities are failing in their job. So maybe Grant's writing was in some way revenge for the injustices he suffered as a child.

He continued to fall foul of authority – in 1969 he spent three months in prison for possession

of half a tab of LSD, a circumstance that later formed the basis of a story for his 2000AD strip, Mazeworld, created with the artist Arthur Ranson, which debuted in 1996.

In fact, Grant imbued all his comic book writing with his experiences and political beliefs, though the latter were often as quirky as the strips he wrote.

He said in a 2021 interview that he was thrown out of the Young Conservatives for being too leftwing, and shown the door by the Socialist party for being too Conservative-minded, adding that “basically, what both parties were saying was that I was just too argumentative for either of them”.

One Judge Dredd story he wrote, John Cassavetes Is Dead, even had the titular law-enforcer questioning the totalitarianism of the regime he has sworn to uphold as he is forced to sentence an elderly man to 10 years' imprisonment for possessing banned literature from the 20th century, including newspapers and comic books. The story appeared in 1989, in the wake of the British

government enacting its Section 28 regulation banning schools from promoting homosexuality.

Grant often wrote with John Wagner, who was one of the founders of 2000AD along with its editor Pat Mills, and together they wrote some of the stories considered to represent the golden age of Judge Dredd, including the Apocalypse War saga, feeding directly into 80s nuclear anxiety.

They also worked on the Strontium Dog strip, about a group of feared and hated mutants suffering prejudice, as well as more madcap series such as the futuristic detective story Robo-Hunter and the space comedy Ace Trucking Co.

Their writing partnership came to an end in typically argumentative fashion when, during the Judge Dredd series Oz, Grant wanted to kill off a popular character, the sky-surfer Chopper, by having Dredd shoot him in the back. Wagner was opposed, and, realising the partnership was not working any more, they agreed to dissolve it. However, they continued to work together less regularly on specific projects.

That was not the only time Grant would clash with his creative partners. After becoming jaded with 2000AD's then publishers,



The work of Grant, below, is considered to represent the golden age of the Judge Dredd comic strip, above, here drawn by Carlos Ezquerro

2000AD/REBELLION;
GRAHAM HARRISON/
SHUTTERSTOCK

One of Grant's jobs was writing a horoscope column for a local newspaper, which he would take to increasingly outlandish levels (“Sagittarius, the stars are against you today – it might be safer to stay inside. Do not be surprised if a close family member suffers an accident”). At DC Thomson he met Mills and Wagner, and it was through them, after a spell in London working for IPC on romance magazines, that he would later be offered an editorial position on 2000AD when it launched in 1977.

Initially Grant was charged with finding new talent for 2000AD and its other comics, and helped to discover the writer Alan Moore, who penned Watchmen and V for Vendetta, by pulling one of his first comic scripts out of the slush pile.

Grant quit the job in 1980 but was then offered work as a co-writer of scripts by Wagner, who was overloaded with projects at the time. That forged their collaborative writing career, and even after they had stopped writing together for 2000AD, they reunited in the late 80s to work for the American publisher DC on some of its top characters, including The Outcasts, Lobo and Batman.

With his wife, Susan, a graphic designer, Grant lived in Moniaive, Dumfries and Galloway, where the pair organised a comics festival in a bid to help revitalise the community after its economy was devastated by foot-and-mouth in 2001. Considered a supportive and encouraging figure on the comics scene, he also worked with Moniaive residents to produce a comic book in 2020 chronicling their experiences with Covid-19.

Although he had suffered ill health for a number of years he continued to write, his most recent work being a 2000AD story about Judge Anderson, the psychic compatriot of Judge Dredd, in 2018, and in 2020 a story for a special edition celebrating the vintage war comic Battle.

He is survived by Susan and by his daughter, Shalla, from a previous marriage.

David Barnett

Alan Grant, comic book writer, born 7 February 1949; died 20 July 2022

Other lives



Peter Tanner

Member of the government’s *British Technology Group*, which helped inventors commercialise their ideas Peter Tanner, my father, who has died aged 92, was a research physicist who worked on a number of key technological innovations. Born in Poplar, east London, Peter was one of the five children of Alex (nee Zanerra) and William Tanner, an estate agent. His mother’s great tenacity during the dark days of the Depression saw her sons win scholarships to the Coopers’ Company school. During the second world war Peter was evacuated to Frome, Somerset. He left to study physics at Hull University and did national service with the Royal Navy (1951-54). He then worked as a research physicist in radar development at Marconi in Chelmsford, Essex. In 1954 he met Sheila Bailey, a teacher; they married two years later. In 1959, he became a research physicist at Associated Electrical Industries at Aldermaston Court, Berkshire, working with the distinguished physicist TE (Thomas) Allibone and his team in the gas discharge group on the fusion project. Its purpose was to explore the possibility of achieving thermonuclear reactions

in a controlled way to generate electricity. The team built Sceptre, one of the first fusion reactors. In 1963 Peter joined the National Research Development Corporation (NRDC), set up by the British government after the war to help inventors commercialise their innovations. My father had several roles, joining as head of the electronics and electrical engineering group. He worked closely with Christopher Cockerell, inventor of the hovercraft, and would regale us with stories of how Cockerell had rolled out early blueprints for the hovercraft across his office desk. Many inventions the NRDC helped commercialise, such as magnetic resonance imaging, went on to make key contributions to British life. In 1981, the NRDC was combined with the National Enterprise Board to form the British Technology Group, where my father became director of business development. He would speak of his meetings with the entrepreneur Clive Sinclair, sitting around the kitchen table in his Cambridgeshire home, and bringing home early versions of a calculator or a pocket-sized TV. After his retirement in 1994, when not engaged in research, he would be reading or reciting poetry from memory, or pursuing his duties as a church warden in the village of Mortimer, Berkshire. Peter discovered that the research he had started at Marconi in the 50s had progressed little since, and in 1995 he resumed it as a PhD student at King’s College London, with a thesis on Developments in Thermionic Converters. Sheila died in 2005. Peter is survived by his children, Liz and me, grandchildren, Sam, Jack, Annie and Will, and sister, Joan, and a stepdaughter, Lindsay, from Sheila’s first marriage. **Paul Tanner**

Donald Sartain

Administrative director of the Young Vic in its early days whose “magic” made a little money go a long way My uncle Donald Sartain, who has died aged 92, was the first administrative director of the Young Vic, one of a remarkable team that Frank Dunlop gathered around him when he started the company in 1970. The Young Vic was originally an offshoot of Laurence Olivier’s National Theatre company based at the Old Vic. Donald was born in Birmingham, one of three children of Nita (nee Abbot) and Thomas Sartain. He went to King Edward’s school in Edgbaston, then Birmingham University, followed by national service in the RAF. Excited by the exceptional work he saw at Barry Jackson’s Birmingham repertory theatre, he answered an ad in the



Stage newspaper for an assistant stage manager with Tonbridge weekly repertory company in 1955. He then joined another pioneer of community theatre, Joan Littlewood, at Theatre Workshop. It was not a happy time for him, but he later realised what a valuable training it had been. In 1956, with the actor Bernard Gallagher and director Austin Rosser, he formed the Renaissance theatre company at the Lyme Regis Marine theatre. Two years later, he reopened the crumbling Her Majesty’s in Barrow, Cumbria, where he declared what would be

his career-long credo: of offering “good plays of every kind, early presentation of new controversial plays, first productions, good comedy and the best of the English dramatic heritage”. He was headhunted by the Dundee Rep in 1964. Dundee was already becoming well known, with such actors as Michael York and Jill Gascoine in the company and many actors, directors and designers eager to see what was going on. One was Dunlop – and he invited Donald to join him at the Young Vic. The Young Vic opened with Scapino, an adaptation of Molière designed by Carl Toms. Initially it employed young actors from the National, such as Jeremy Irons, as well as sharing a box office, but gradually the theatre became independent. Donald made a little money go a long way, securing financial backing from two local councils, since the building straddled Lambeth and Southwark, as well as a grant from the Arts Council. Donald stayed on at the Young Vic after Dunlop left, and remained through Michael Bogdanov’s and David Thacker’s regimes. Although he stepped down in 1990 as administrator, he continued to oversee the Young Vic’s touring programmes, and set up tours for British companies with Theatre Impresariat International. In the early 1990s Donald worked with Vanessa and Corin Redgrave’s Moving Theatre company, providing deft financial management as the fledgling organisation sought to establish itself. Vanessa Redgrave wrote: “Somehow, no matter how implacable and continuous the problems, Donald became a Prospero; his pockets were bare but his demeanour spread magic.” Donald is survived by his partner of 50 years, Philip Rodolphe. **Yvonne Campbell**

Birthdays

David Arquette, actor and former wrestler, 51; **Ann Beattie**, novelist, 75; **Linda Bennett**, fashion designer and entrepreneur, 60; **Asha Bhosle**, playback singer, 89; **Jos Buttler**, cricketer, 32; **Ian Davidson**, former Labour MP, 72; **Anne Diamond**, broadcaster and columnist, 68; **Lord (Bernard) Donoughue**, writer and political commentator, 88; **Michael Frayn**, author and playwright, 89; **Martin Freeman**, actor, 51; **Mindy Grossman**, former chief executive, WW International, 65; **Judith Hann**, broadcaster and writer, 80; **Prof Edward Hinds**, physicist, 73; **Dame Margaret Hodge**, Labour MP and former minister, 78; **Stefan Johansson**, racing driver, 66; **Miles Jupp**, comedian, actor and broadcaster, 43; **Simon**



Judith Hann, the broadcaster, is 80 today. She presented the BBC’s Tomorrow’s World for 20 years

Jupp, Conservative MP, 37; **Aimee Mann**, singer and songwriter, 62; **John McDonnell**, Labour MP and former shadow chancellor, 71; **Geoff Miller**, cricketer and coach, 70; **Judy Murray**, tennis coach and broadcaster, 63; **Morten Gamst Pedersen**, footballer, 41; **Pink**, singer and songwriter, 43; **Chris Powell**, footballer and manager, 53; **Bernie Sanders**, US senator and campaigner, 81; **Bruce Sansom**, ballet dancer and former artistic director, 59; **Karin Smyth**, Labour MP, 58; **Victor Ubogu**, rugby player, 58; **Christoph von Dohnányi**, conductor, 93.



Katherine White

Campaigner on behalf of people with Addison’s who aimed to increase understanding of the disease My wife, Katherine White, who has died aged 63 of an aortic dissection, was a campaigner for people with Addison’s disease, a rare endocrine condition where the adrenal glands cease to function and the body no longer produces enough essential steroid hormones. Following her own diagnosis with the condition in 1998, Katherine devoted much of the rest of her life to deepening her understanding of Addison’s. Born in the city of Hamilton, New Zealand, to John White, one of the founders of Auckland University’s computing centre,

and his wife, Gwenda (nee Sheat), a chemistry teacher, Katherine went to Takapuna grammar school in Auckland before completing a degree in French and political science and then a master’s in political science at Auckland University, either side of a year as editor of the student newspaper. She then became an assistant lecturer at Auckland University, moving on in the late 1980s to be research officer and press secretary to Michael Cullen, minister for social welfare in David Lange’s Labour government. When the party lost office after two terms, Katherine took roles in corporate affairs and paralegal research before joining the Sydney office of McKinsey, the management consultancy, in 1992 as an organisational effectiveness and communication specialist. In 1994 she moved to McKinsey’s office in London, which is where she and I met for the first time, she being the only person to arrive for the first session of our week-long

induction later than me. Katherine left McKinsey in 1996, the year we got married, but continued as a communication consultant, moving to be a principal at the firm William M Mercer. By that time, however, she was increasingly struggling with fatigue and nausea, and she left in 1998 after her Addison’s diagnosis. It was then that she joined the UK Addison’s Disease Self-Help Group (ADSHG), eventually becoming coordinator of the ADSHG’s clinical advisory panel and then chair of the group itself, for 14 years. During this time she enlisted the help of many other people, including medics, and built up a clinical advisory panel of leading endocrinologists. She also established ties with similar groups across the UK and internationally, and moved the ADSHG into charitable status. She established, and wrote, a stream of publications and online resources, always with expert medical input, to help people live with the disease, including

Living With Addison’s: An Owner’s Manual, with Sarah Baker. Katherine left the group in 2018 to start a PhD in medical sociology at the University of Würzburg in Germany, looking at the management of Addison’s disease and similar chronic conditions. She had almost finished her doctorate at the time of her death. In parallel to her PhD, she joined a Facebook support group, the UK Addison’s Disease & AI Info & Support Group, rapidly becoming one of its “go to” experts (as Kat Mackay). Outside her work on Addison’s Katherine loved to be in her garden in Hertford, initially completely reshaping it after we moved there in 2004 by demolishing an old summer house, planting an array of fruit trees and putting in raised beds, and continuing to tweak and tend it over the following years. She is survived by me, our two children, Eleanor and Patrick, her mother, and her sisters, Annie and Nicola. **Alick Mackay**

Announcements

Deaths

BRYDEN, Richard Edward, passed away peacefully at Ysbyty Gwynedd on 2 September 2022, aged 89. Loving husband of Elizabeth. Formerly of Swansea University. He will be sadly missed by his family and friends. Donations in memory of Richard can be made to Amnesty International and will be gratefully received. Please visit www.tomowenandson.com/funeral-notices to see how to donate. Alternatively, donations can be sent c/o Kelly Owen, Tom Owen and Son, 11 Bodhyfryd Road, Llandudno, Conwy LL30 2DT. Tel. 01492 860280.

For Announcements, Acknowledgments, Adoptions, Anniversaries, Birthdays, Births, Deaths, Engagements, Memorial Services and In Memoriam, email us at announcements@theguardian.com including your name, address and telephone number or phone 0203 353 2114.



Reread our obituaries of the broadcaster Bill Turnbull and the fashion designer Hanae Mori **theguardian.com/obituaries**

12Puzzles

Yesterday's solutions

Killer sudoku

Easy

9	4	8	7	6	5	2	1	3
6	7	1	3	2	8	5	4	9
3	5	2	1	9	4	6	8	7
1	3	4	8	5	7	9	6	2
8	6	9	2	4	3	1	7	5
7	2	5	6	1	9	8	3	4
2	8	3	5	7	6	4	9	1
5	9	7	4	8	1	3	2	6
4	1	6	9	3	2	7	5	8

Medium

3	7	9	2	4	5	1	6	8
5	6	2	7	8	1	4	3	9
4	1	8	6	3	9	7	5	2
8	3	4	1	9	2	5	7	6
1	5	7	3	6	8	9	2	4
9	2	6	4	5	7	3	8	1
2	9	3	5	1	6	8	4	7
6	8	5	9	7	4	2	1	3
7	4	1	8	2	3	6	9	5

Codeword

B	P	Q	P	L	E	A	S	E	
A	L	T	H	O	U	G	H	M	K
A	O	E	Y	O	M	I	T		
Z	I	T	H	E	R	S	J	R	
E	O	N	I	D	I	O	M	S	
E	D	I	C	T	S	Q	U	J	I
		O							
D	P	L	A	T	E	A	U	H	
L	E	V	Y	D					
X				V		M	A	F	L
S	T	U	C	C	O	I	W	I	
R	R					C	O	N	F
B	O	X	Y			A	I	M	P
S	P					C	A	N	N
G	E	N	T	R	Y	G	N	D	

Cryptic crossword

Solution No. 28,856

C	O	C	O	D	E	M	E	R	P	L	A	Y
A	A	E	U	A	R	L						
T	R	O	T	T	I	N	G	C	O	E	R	C
D	A	T		S	O	M	O					
A	S	T	R	A		H	E	N	N	I	G	H
R				O	T	U	O					
W	A	R	H	O	L		T	H	E	R	M	A
S				E			U					
S	H	O	C	K	I	N	G		R	E	J	E
M	A	T	T				O					
B	O	N	H	O	M	I	E		F	I	G	A
L	I	O	A	A	G	I						
D	E	F	E	C	T		S	A	N	D	I	E
A	R	I	E				G	N	H			
O	N	E	S				F	O	R	E	S	I
							S	I	G	H		



Stuck? For help call **0906 200 83 83**. Calls cost £1.10 per minute, plus your phone company's access charge. Service supplied by ATS. Call **0330 333 6946** for customer service (charged at standard rate). **Want more?** Get access to more than 4,000 puzzles at theguardian.com/crossword. To buy puzzle books, visit guardianbookshop.com or call **0330 333 6846**.

Killer sudoku

Easy

The normal rules of sudoku apply: fill each row, column and 3x3 box with all the numbers from 1 to 9. In addition, the digits in each inner shape (marked by dots) must add up to the number in the top corner of that box. No digit can be repeated within an inner shape.

14	7			10		20			
	10	16		8		8	21		
12		8		13				14	
			17		18	7			
15	20						3		
			9		13	14		15	
	17	13	14	16					
4				7	3			14	
	9				16				

Medium

15	24					14		3	
		18		22					
17					14	22		8	
	26	21							
			9			19		24	
9		21		25					
						19			
	22		16	7		19			
11									

Codeword

Each letter of the alphabet makes at least one appearance in the grid, and is represented by the same number wherever it appears. The letters decoded should help you to identify other letters and words in the grid.

8	25	14	20	11		3	16	17	21	12	5	
24		25		24		25		15		6		8
11	3	25	10	10	22	2		20	24	2	13	22
17		15		22		13		18		8		7
3	17	3	24	12	2	17	23		20	25	21	22
		6		18			22		25			20
20	25	12	11		16	24	21	15	8	24	20	20
22			17		18		25		22			22
9	24	2	5	17	26	24	21		11	3	6	15
9			22		22			8		16		
17	21	19	11		11	4	6	24	2	22	20	18
21		22		11		6		21		22		25
13	22	21	2	22		17	21	1	6	2	22	15
11		15		9		26		25		17		22
	12	25	23	17	21	11		11	26	25	25	20

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13													
14	15	D	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	A	25	26											

Guardian cryptic crossword No 28,857 set by Brendan

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7	
8									9					
10		11					12							
					13									
14			15				16							
17	18				19			20						21
							22							
23								24			25			
							26							
27								28		29		30		
31							32							

Across

- 8** Food processor that is broken by small people (8)
9 Final letters backed wise work plan (6)
10 Poet joins volunteers providing cover for knight (6)
12 Sign of distress as fall follows sprint (8)
13 Greek letter in religious painting, not the consonant (3)
14 Possible need for invalid inferior writer switching contents (6)
16 Unusually veracious, apart from one piece that's bad for circulation (8)
17 Deny having daughter's ring put in a car? (7)
20 Deployed joint force European commanded, holding weapon (7)
23 Willing to admit nothing after the atom disintegrated (2,4,2)
24 Neither posted nor moved? (6)
26 Valley's width in metric unit (3)
27 Second question in 30 – answer's 'trees' (8)
28 A youth going on lake for sail (6)
31 Nasty person curate had to endure? Not entirely (3,3)
32 What's old in phony antique? Solve that! (8)

Down

- 1** State we hear spelt without consonants? (4)
2 Tiny bit in audiotape (4)
3 Ordered Democratic president outside (6)
4 Once a TV broadcast is ready, used in some countries (7)
5 Like solo organ performance in audition (8)
6 Comedians disturbed about upper-class lying (10)
7 In heartless prison, I lowered blind (8)
11 Start to grow capital, having got rid of a pest (3)
14 Delivery info initially upset person (3)
15 Pitch checker's routine nap disturbed (5,5)
18 Wear thin, possibly becoming bare (2,3,3)
19 Holes launches (8)
21 What I must have, but not in that case (3)
22 Sections of vessels with three parts removed (7)
24 What's German city got that Irish quarter hasn't? (6)
25 Female contributing to the website we've viewed regularly (3)
29 Dance costume pronounced excessively dated (4)
30 Frenzied expression as English promise to pay up (4)